Toda

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[For detailed information about religious and ceremonial beliefs and practices associated with the Toda dairies, see the 77, 78 and 79 categories]

1: Rivers
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Toda

[For information about buffalo migrations and ordination ceremonies for dairymen-priests, see category 116, pp. 123-165. For special dairy ceremonies, see category 116, pp. 166-181.]

291 more fully described in Chapter XXIV. It will be sufficient to say here that when showing reverence, a Toda bares his right arm, this method of wearing the cloak so that the arm is exposed being called *kevenarut*. It is shown in Figs. 1 and 10.

THE DAILY LIFE OF THE TODAS

234 The daily life of the Toda men is largely devoted to the care of their buffaloes and to the performance of the dairy 463 operations. As we shall 512 see later, much of the dairy work is the duty of certain men set aside to look after the sacred buffaloes and the sacred dairies connected with them. A large proportion, however, of the Toda buffaloes are not sacred, and their care falls on the ordinary Todas. The milking and churning is chiefly the duty of the younger men and boys, but the older men also take their part, while the head of the family exercises a general superintendence.

512 On rising in the morning, 788 the men salute the sun with the gesture called *kaimukhti*, shown in Fig. 10, and then they turn to their work of milking the buffaloes and churning the milk.

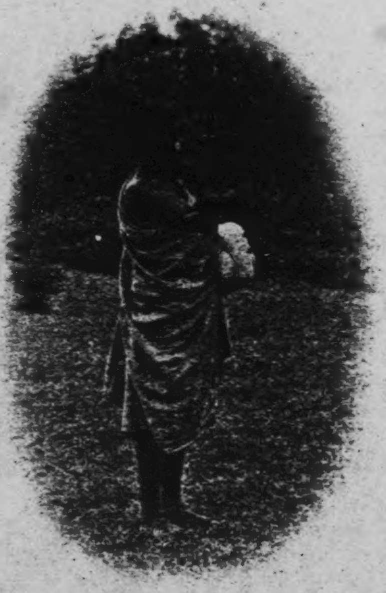

FIG. 10.—KÒDRNER PERFORMING THE SALUTATION CALLED 'KAIMUKHTI.' HIS RIGHT ARM IS BARED ('KEVENARUT'), AND HE HAS REMOVED HIS TURBAN.

512 When the dairy operations of the morning are over, the buffaloes are driven to the grazing ground, the people take their food and go about any business of the day. Some may

574 576 called *kalmelpudithti*,[1] or "leg up he puts." It is usually a salutation in which women bow down before men, but it may also take place between two men or between two women, while on certain occasions a male may bow down and have his forehead touched by the feet of a woman.

●234 512 788 In the evening the buffaloes again find their way to the milking-place, and the operations of the morning are repeated. When these are finished the buffaloes are shut up in the enclosure, or *tu*, for the night; the lamp is now lighted and saluted by the men who use the same gesture as that with which the sun had been saluted in the morning. The people then take their food and retire to rest.

Sketch of Social Organisation

616 I shall consider the social organisation in detail at a much later stage, but it is necessary to give here a brief sketch in order to make its main features clear before going on to describe the Toda ceremonial, which often shows differences according to the division or clan with which the ceremony is connected. The fundamental feature of the social organisation is the division of the community into two perfectly distinct groups, the Tartharol and the Teivaliol. As we shall see more fully later, there is a certain amount of resemblance between these two divisions and the castes of the Hindus. There is a certain amount of specialisation of function, certain grades of the priesthood being filled only by members of the Teivaliol. Further, marriage is not allowed between members of the two divisions, though certain irregular unions are permitted; a Tarthar man must marry a Tarthar woman, and a Teivali man a Teivali woman. The Tartharol and Teivaliol are two endogamous divisions of the Toda people.

618 Each of these primary divisions is subdivided into a number of secondary divisions. These are exogamous, and I shall speak of them throughout this book as 'clans,' using this word as the best general term for an exogamous division of a tribe or community.

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[1] This salutation has been previously known by its Badaga name, *adabuddiken*.

CHAPTER III

DAIRIES AND BUFFALOES

181 THE milking and churning operations of the dairy form
234 the basis of the greater part of the religious ritual of the
771 Todas. The lives of the people are largely devoted to their
778 buffaloes, and the care of certain of these animals, regarded as more sacred than the rest, is associated with much ceremonial.
793 The sacred animals are attended by men especially set apart who form the Toda priesthood, and the milk of the sacred animals is churned in dairies which may be regarded as the Toda temples and are so regarded by the people themselves. The ordinary operations of the dairy have become a religious ritual and ceremonies of a religious character accompany nearly every important incident in the lives of the buffaloes.

Among the buffaloes held by the Toda to be sacred there are varying degrees of sanctity, and each kind of buffalo is tended at its own kind or grade of dairy by its own special grade of the priesthood; buffaloes and dairies forming an organisation the complexities of which were far from easy to unravel.

Each kind of dairy connected with its special kind of buffalo has its own peculiarities of ritual. The dairies form an ascending series in which we find increasing definiteness and complexity of ritual; increasing sanctity of the person of the dairyman-priest, increasing stringency of the rules for the conduct of his daily life, and increasing elaboration of the ceremonies which attend his entrance upon office. There are also certain dairies in which the ritual has developed in

special directions, and there are special features of the 181
organisation of buffaloes and dairies not only in each of the 234
two chief divisions of the Toda people, but also in many of 771
the clans of which each division is composed. 778

I propose in this chapter to sketch some of the chief 793
features of the buffalo and dairy organisation, and in
succeeding chapters there will follow detailed accounts of the
different dairies and of the ceremonial which accompanies the
daily work of the dairy and the important events of buffalo
life.

THE DAIRY ORGANISATION

The first distinction to be made concerns the buffaloes. 825
These animals are divided into those of a sacred character
and those which may be called 'ordinary buffaloes.' The 234
latter are known as *putiir*; they may be kept at any village, are
tended by the men and boys of the village—in Toda language,
they are tended by *perol*, or ordinary persons—and their milk
is churned in the front part of the dwelling-hut. There is no
special ritual of any kind connected with these buffaloes or
with their milk, and there are no restrictions on the use of the
milk or its products.

The classification of the sacred buffaloes is very different 234
in the two divisions of the Toda people. The Teivaliol 621
possess only one class of sacred buffalo and these buffaloes
are called collectively *pasthir*. The Tartharol, on the other 463
hand, have several classes of sacred buffalo, and, so far as I 778
could ascertain, they have properly no collective term for all of 192
them, though they are often spoken of by the Teivaḷi term,
pasthir.

Possessing only one kind of sacred buffalo, the dairy organisation of the Teivaliol is comparatively simple. The milk of the *pasthir* is churned in dairies at the more important villages of each clan. The dairy is, in general, called *pali*,[1] and the dairyman is called *palikartmokh*, 'dairy watch-boy,' or *palikartpol*, 'dairy watch-man,'[2] according to his age; but,

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[1] This word should probably be *paḷḷi* and was usually pronounced *palthḷi*, but I have adopted the spelling of the text for the sake of simplicity.

[2] According to some Todas, *kart* was a shortened form of *karithl*, milking or milked.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

● 234 621 463 778 192 probably owing to the general custom of employing youths or young men to fill the office of dairyman, the term *palikartmokh* is in far more general use, and is often employed even when the dairyman is an elderly man.

At many of the chief Teivali villages, there are two dairies; a large dairy, called *etudpali*, and a smaller, called *kidpali*. Each of these dairies should have its own *palikartmokh*, and this is still the case when both dairies are used, but at most villages at the present time one of the two dairies has been disused and there is in consequence only one dairyman.

[421] Both ordinary and sacred buffaloes are the property, not of the whole clan, but of families or individuals, and the buffaloes tended at the dairy of a village are, in general, the property of the family living at that village. A large clan with many villages, such as that of Kuudr, has many dairies in working order and a corresponding number of dairymen.

Among the Tartharol the organisation is far more complicated. Most Tarthar clans have more than one kind of sacred buffalo in addition to the ordinary buffaloes or *putiir*. In every clan there is one kind of sacred herd which may be said to correspond to the *pasthir* of the Teivaliol. The milk of these buffaloes is churned in a dairy called *pali* by a dairyman called *palikartmokh* or *palikartpol*. There are, however, two grades of dairy corresponding to these buffaloes. The lower grade is called the *tarpali*, or more commonly *tarvali*, and is served by a *tarvalikartmokh*. The higher grade is called *kudrpali*, tended by a *kudrpalikartmokh*. There is no distinction of buffaloes corresponding to this distinction of dairies, the same buffaloes being tended sometimes at a *kudrpali* and sometimes at a *tarvali*. The distinguishing feature of a *kudrpali* is the possession of a *mani*, or sacred bell, and the greater elaboration and stringency of its ritual is due to the presence of this sacred object.

In addition to the buffaloes tended at the *tarvali* or *kudrpali*, most Tarthar clans possess other sacred buffaloes called *wursutir*. These buffaloes are tended by a dairyman called *wursol* and their milk is churned in a dairy called *wursuli* or *wursulipali*. One point which marks off this branch of the dairy organisation from the preceding is that

the dairyman, or *wursol,* must belong either to the Teivaliol 234
or to the Melgars clan of the Tartharol. Both *tarpaiikartmokh* 621
and *kudrpalikartmokh* are chosen from the Tartharol, either 463
of the same or of a different clan from that of the dairy, but the 778
wursol must be taken either from the members of the other
chief division of the Todas or from one special clan of the 192
Tartharol, a clan which has many other peculiar privileges and occupies a position in some ways intermediate between Tartharol and Teivaliol.

The ritual of the *wursuli* is distinctly more elaborate than than that of either *tarvali* or *kudrpali,* and the *wursol* is a more sacred personage, so far as one can judge from his rules of conduct and the elaboration of his ordination ceremonies.

Two Tarthar clans have dairies of especial importance and sanctity, in both of which there are distinctive features of ritual.

The people of Taradr possess a herd of buffaloes called *kugvalir* which take their name from the dairy, the *kugvali* or *kugpali,* meaning the chief or great dairy. The *kugvalir* are tended by a *kugvalikartmokh,* who must belong to the Taradrol. The six chief families of this clan take charge of the buffaloes for periods of three years in rotation, and the head of the family in charge selects the *kugvalikartmokh.*

The other Tarthar dairy which occupies an exceptional position is that of *Kanòdrs,* which is called a *poh,* and is tended by a dairyman called *pohkartpol.* The ritual both of this dairy and of the *kugvali* of Taradr resembles in some respects that of the most sacred Toda dairies, the dairies of the institution called the *ti.*

The number and nature of the dairies are different in the different Tarthar clans and in different villages of the same clan. The Melgars clan has only one kind of dairy, the *tarvali.* The Nòdrs clan now has a *tarvali* and a *wursuli,* and at most Kars villages there are both *kudrpali* and *wursuli,* but formerly both at Nòdrs and Kars there were three kinds of dairy, *tarvali, kudrpali,* and *wursuli.* Some Pan villages have *tarvali* and *wursuli,* others *kudrpali* and *wursuli.* At Taradr there are both *tarvali* and *wursuli* in addition to the special institution of that clan, the *kugvali.*

234 621 778 All these various kinds of dairy are situated at the villages where the people live. In addition, five Tarthar clans possess dairies where are kept herds of great sanctity, the herds of the *ti* or the *tiir*. These buffaloes are kept at special dairies far from any village where people live. A place where such a dairy is situated is called a *ti mad*, or *ti* village, and each sacred herd moves about from one *ti mad* to another at different seasons of the year, and the group of places, together with the herds connected with it, is known collectively as a *ti*.[1] The *ti* is thus the name of a special institution comprising buffaloes, dairies, grazing grounds, and the various buildings and objects connected with the dairies.

234 778 463 793 The *ti* is presided over by a dairyman-priest called *palol*, who is assisted by a boy or youth called *kaltmokh* or, more rarely, *kavelol*. Formerly it was the custom in most cases that a *ti* should have two *palol*, each of whom had his own herd of buffaloes and his own dairy, so that each *ti mad* had two dairies. This custom now persists in full at one *ti* only, though in other cases there are still two dairies, of which one is not used, or is only used on special occasions.

Though the *ti* is, in every case, regarded as the property of a Tarthar clan, the *palol* must be chosen from the Teivaliol, and in some cases the choice is restricted to certain Teivali clans. The *kaltmokh* must belong either to the Teivaliol or to the Melgars clan of the Tartharol. The dairy of a *ti* is always called a *poh*.

The ritual of the *ti* reaches a far higher degree of complexity than is attained in any village dairy. The *palol* is a far more sacred personage than the *wursol* or the *palikartmokh*; his life is far more strictly regulated, and the ceremonies attendant on his entrance into office are far more elaborate. The ceremonies connected with dairy or buffaloes are more numerous, and when they correspond to ceremonies performed at the lower grades of dairy, they are much more elaborate and prolonged.

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[1] In previous accounts of the Todas, the place where these sacred herds are kept has always been called a *tirieri*. This is not properly a Toda term, but is that used by the Badagas.

THE DAIRY

234 343 There are two forms of Toda dairy. One resembles very closely the ordinary hut, and, but for its situation and the higher wall which surrounds it, it might often be supposed to be one of the huts. The vast majority of dairies are now of this form. The other kind of dairy is circular with a conical roof. There are now only three or four of these buildings in existence, though others have only fallen into ruins in recent times. Breeks, who wrote in 1873, says[1] that at that time there were four, and a fifth in ruins.

The best known of these dairies is that at Nòdrs (the Manboa of Breeks), shown in Fig. 13. It has received the name of "the Toda Cathedral," and is one of the show places of the Nilgiris. Another (shown in Fig. 25) is at Kanòdrs (the Mutterzhva of Breeks). Both are village dairies of especial sanctity; the Nòdrs building is in full working order, while that of Kanòdrs is only occupied occasionally. A third dairy of the conical form is at the *ti* place of Anto near Sholur (the Kiurzh of Breeks) and should be regularly visited once a year, though the year in which I was on the Nilgiris was an exception. The fourth dairy of the kind (called by Breeks Tarzhva) is at Tarsòdr on the Kundahs. It is also a *ti* dairy, but is now falling into ruins, having been disused for about twenty years. The ruined dairy mentioned by Breeks (Katedva) is said to be still in the same condition. It was used as a *ti* dairy, and is near Makurti Peak.

There is no doubt that conical dairies were at one time more numerous. There was one at the *ti* place of Enòdr, not far from Ootacamund. There was another at the village of Kars, and the circular wall which once surrounded the dairy still remains, and has been converted into a buffalo pen.

104 196 234 343 552 The various names given to the Toda dairies are at first sight very confusing. We have already seen that each kind of dairy is named according to the kind of buffalo connected with it—according to its position in the dairy-series connecting *tarvali* with *ti*. Each dairy has also its own special or indi-

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[1] *An Account of the Primitive Tribes and Monuments of the Nilagiris*, 1873, p. 14.

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vidual name; thus the *kudrpali* of Kars is called Tarziolv, and the *wursuli* of the same village, Karziolv.

In addition to these two sets of names, there is another distinction of a more general kind. There are two general names, *poh* and *pali*, and every dairy is one or other of these. The former name is given to every *ti* dairy, to every dairy of the conical form,[1] and to certain other dairies at the older and more important villages. Some of the latter are ordinarily called *pali*, but the name *poh* lingers in the name employed for the dairies in prayer (see Chapter X), or in the individual names of the dairies; thus the dairy at the ancient village of Nasmiòdr is ordinarily called a *pali*, but its individual name is *Tilipoh*. I think it probable that originally *poh* and *pali* were the names of the two forms of dairy, the conical kind being called *poh* and the ordinary kind *pali*. At the present time every existing conical dairy is a *poh*, and every dairy which is said to have been in the past of the conical form is called *poh*. It seems probable that in many cases a dairy, originally of the conical form, has been rebuilt in the same form as the dwelling-hut, owing to the difficulty and extra labour of reconstruction in the older shape; and that in some of these cases the dairy of the new form has retained the name of the old and is still called *poh*, at any rate on certain occasions. All the dairies to which the name *poh* is ever given are either *ti* dairies or are situated in villages of especial antiquity and sanctity.

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There is now no definite rule as to the grade of dairymen who shall serve at a dairy called *poh*. The *poh* of a *ti* is, of course, occupied by a *palol* and *kaltmokh*. The conical *poh* of Nòdrs, the old conical *poh* of Kars, and several old dairies which are still called *poh* in the prayers are, or were, tended by dairymen of the rank of *wursol*, while several *poh* of the ordinary shape belonging to the Teivaliol are occupied by dairymen called *palikartmokh*. The only place at which the dairyman takes his name from the *poh* is Kanòdrs, where the conical dairy is occupied by a *pohkartpol*.

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[1] This word, in the forms *boa*, *boath*, &c., has by previous writers been limited to dairies of the conical shape. There is no doubt that it has at present a far wider application.

his dairy the *palol* always turns to the left, so that he faces 343
north-east as he goes towards his buffaloes. In a few dairies the door faces directly west, and, according to Breeks, this is the case at the conical dairy of Anto.

THE TODA BUFFALO

The Toda buffalo is a variety of the Indian water-buffalo, but 136
the life on the hills seems to have produced a much finer animal 231
than that of the plains. Although thoroughly under the 234
control of the Todas, the buffaloes are semi-wild and often
attack people of a different race from their owners, and Euro- 825
peans have frequently been severely injured by the onslaught of these animals.

The Toda name for the male buffalo is *er*, and for the female *ir*, but either term may be used when the people speak of buffaloes collectively. Calves have different designations at different ages. A young calf is *kar*, one from one to two years of age is *pòl*, and a three-year-old calf is *nakh*.

Defective buffaloes, and especially those with only one horn, are called *kwadrir*, and those whose horns bend downwards are *kughir*. Barren buffaloes are called *maiir*.

There are considerable differences of colour among the buffaloes. Those much lighter than the rest are called *nerir* or *pushtir*, and there is a legend about the origin of these buffaloes, which, however, I failed to obtain. The only obvious way in which the animals differ from one another in marking is that some have a black stripe running down either side of the neck very much in the position which would be occupied by the chain suspending a bell.

There do not seem to be any physical differences between the buffaloes of different classes, and, as we shall see shortly, the nature of the breeding of the Toda buffaloes is such as would have entirely destroyed any distinctions of the kind if they had ever existed.

Every adult female buffalo has an individual name, which 234
is usually given when her first calf is born. The number 552
of buffalo names is limited, so that many buffaloes bear the same name.

234 552 The following are among the buffalo names of which I have records:—Kûdzi or Kûrsi, Kâsimi, Pän or Pern, Kiûd or Kiûdz, Enmon, Koisi, Keien, Ilsh or Idrsh, Kârsthum, Perûv or Perov, Kebân, Enmars, Persud, Nerûv, Kôzi, Perith, Pülkoth, Persuth, Tòthi, Kerâni, Keirev, Püthiov, Peires, Nersâdr, Tâlg, Ûf, Köji, Persv, Arvatz, Kòjiû, Pundrs, Purkîsi, and Òrsum.

234 552 778 Both Tartharol and Teivaliol have the same names for their buffaloes, and it seemed that a buffalo of any village herd might have the same name as one belonging to the *ti*. It is possible, however, that certain names may be restricted to the *ti* herds. I collected some names which occurred only in these herds, but I cannot say positively that they might not also be used for less sacred buffaloes.

Male buffaloes are unnamed and appear to have little or no sanctity even when born of cows of the most sacred herds. The greater number of male calves are either killed at *erkumpthtiti* ceremonies (Chap. XIII) or given away to the Kotas. A few are kept for breeding purposes, usually in the proportion of two to every hundred females.

232 234 778 There is a singular absence of care about the breeding of the buffaloes. The Todas have many herds of which every female has some degree of sacredness, and it might have been expected that the bulls of a sacred herd would have been carefully chosen from the male calves of that herd. So far as I could ascertain after repeated inquiries, there was no restriction of any kind in the mating of the sacred animals; a bull of the ordinary buffaloes (*putiir*) of a village might even mate with the highly sacred animals of a *ti* dairy. No importance seemed to be attached to the question of paternity among the buffaloes, and so far as I could ascertain the people were quite indifferent whether the male was related or unrelated to the female, whether of the same or of another herd.

114 234 I did not hear of the existence of any ceremonies connected with the chosen male buffaloes. Marshall states[1] that a bull new from one of the sacred *ti* herds undergoes a process of sanctification before he is permanently installed,

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[1] *A Phrenologist among the Todas*, 1873, p. 132.

by being isolated for a day and night in a small pen in the 114
sacred woods of the *ti*, during which time he is deprived of 234
food, though allowed access to water. Marshall also states that it is permissible to introduce a bull from an ordinary drove "after due sanctification." Though I failed to obtain definite confirmation of Marshall's statement, it is possible that something of the kind may at one time have taken place or may even still take place.

At the present time the buffaloes are tended entirely by 173
males, and males only are allowed to take any part either 234
in the work of the dairy or in those dairy operations which
are performed in the house. There is a tradition that at 462
one time women attended to the buffaloes at the time of calving, and one incident is recorded in which women performed Cæsarian section on a dying buffalo (p. 78), but this custom has now long ceased to be followed.

The first buffaloes were created by one of the chief Toda 234
gods, Ön, and his wife. The buffaloes created by the male 773
deity were the progenitors of the sacred buffaloes, while the ordinary buffaloes or *putür* are descended from those created by the wife. Certain other buffaloes are descended from ancestors created by other gods, but the account of their various creations may be deferred till the chapter containing the legends of the gods. I was told by some that the sacred buffaloes were descended from a sambhar deer, but it was later found that this was only believed to be true of one special group of buffaloes belonging to one clan.

DAIRY PROCEDURE

The general plan of the dairy procedure is the same in all 234
dairies, the difference between different dairies lying chiefly
in certain formalities accompanying certain stages of the 512
procedure.

The day's operations begin with the churning of the milk drawn on the previous evening. The milk is poured from the milking-vessels into earthenware pots, and during the night it will have coagulated. The coagulated mass is first broken up by the churn; water and butter already made are added,

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and then the churning is continued till the milk separates into a solid part, which I shall speak of as 'butter,' and a liquid, which I shall call 'buttermilk.' It must be remembered, however, that these do not correspond to the butter and buttermilk of a European dairy. The milk coagulates before the cream has risen in any quantity, and there is no skimming. The 'butter' consists of both the fat and casein of the milk, while the 'buttermilk' ought perhaps rather to be called 'whey.'

In order to avoid this ambiguity in the use of the words 'butter' and 'buttermilk,' it might have seemed desirable to use the Toda terms for these products; but I have not done so, partly in order to avoid the too frequent use of Toda words, partly because the names are not constant among the Todas themselves, different terms being used in different dairies.

When the churning is finished, the butter and buttermilk are put into their appropriate vessels, and the dairyman goes out to milk the buffaloes, using for this purpose a bamboo milking-vessel, into which he has put some buttermilk from the previous churning. The newly drawn milk is poured into the earthenware vessels, in which it stands till the afternoon. By this time the milk will have become solid, and is churned as in the morning.

The 'butter' is used chiefly in the form of ghi, or clarified butter, for which the Toda name is *nei*. The butter is clarified by keeping it over the fire after the addition of grain or rice. The latter sinks to the bottom of the vessel, while the *nei* consists of the liquefied fat of the milk. The *nei* or ghi is partly used by the Todas, but is largely sold at the bazaar. The deposit of grain or rice is called *al*, and is one of the chief Toda foods. It is, no doubt, mixed with part of the proteid constituents of the milk precipitated during the process of clarification.

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The milking-vessel is of bamboo, and several of the small vessels used in the dairy procedure are also made from bamboo of various sizes. The vessels into which the milk is poured and in which it is churned are of earthenware, and the vessels in which the butter and buttermilk are kept are also

1; Rivers E-5 ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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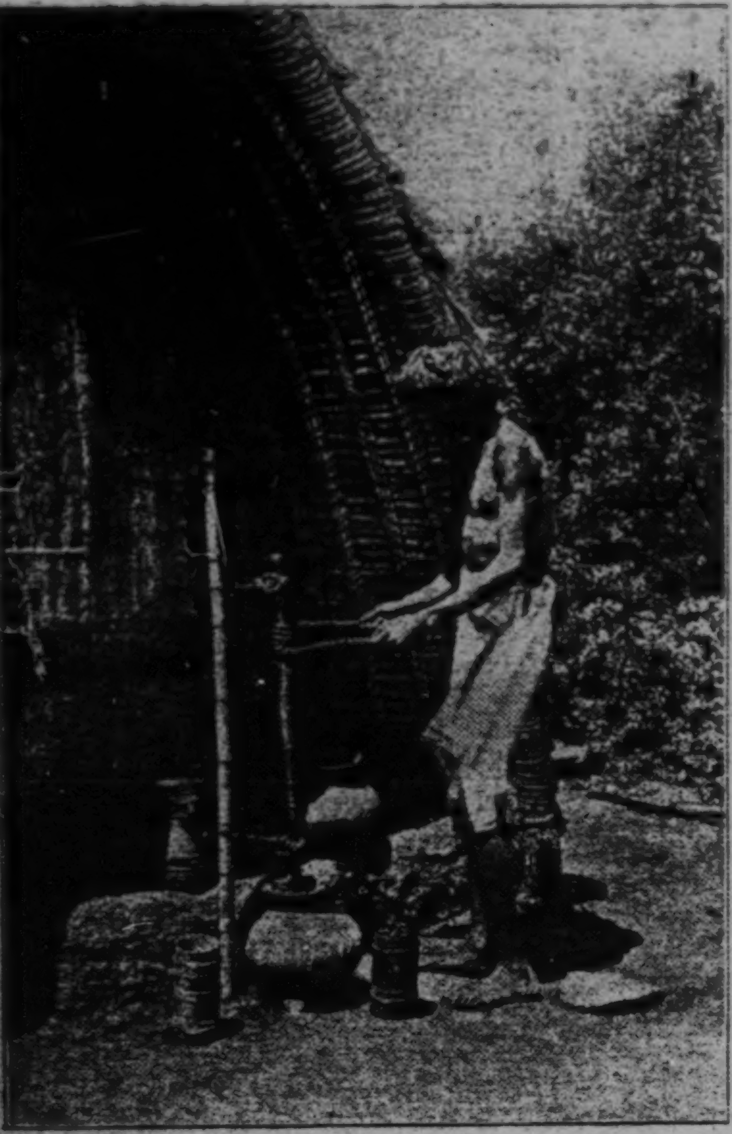

FIG. 15.—ÐD (26) CHURNING.

234 415 of this kind. The earthenware vessels used in the ordinary dairy-work are made by the Kotas.

177 The names of the different dairy vessels vary according to the dairy in which they are used, and these, together with a complete list of the dairy vessels and implements, will be reserved till later.

234 412 415 The method of churning is shown in Fig. 15. The churning is always done within the hut or dairy, but in order to obtain a photograph of the process a staff was put in the ground outside a hut, so that the figure shows exactly the method used within the hut or dairy. The upright staff is called *palmän*, or 'milk-tree'; the two rings by means of which the churning-stick is fastened to the *palmän* are called *palkati*, or 'milk-ties.' The cord by which the churning-stick, or *madth* is revolved is called *kudinan* or *palv.*

234 171 The general plan of the dairy operations appears to be much the same as that practised elsewhere in India. There are, however, two special features of the Toda procedure which, so far as I know, are not in general use elsewhere. One of these is the addition of buttermilk from a previous churning. This addition probably hastens the process of coagulation, and has a material use, but in the hands of the Todas it has become of great ceremonial importance, and forms the basis of some of the most interesting features of the dairy ritual.

The other special feature which does not seem to be generally found in India is the addition of grain or rice when clarifying the butter. Unlike the addition of buttermilk, this has no ceremonial value, and is chiefly important in providing the Todas with one of their favourite foods.

THE CARE OF THE ORDINARY BUFFALOES

234 463 The ordinary buffaloes, or *putiir*, of a village are looked after and milked by the males of the village; by those who in Toda terminology are *perol*, or ordinary men, as compared with those who have been ordained to one of the sacred dairy offices.

234 When the people rise in the morning, the buffaloes are

released from the pen, or *tu*, in which they have been enclosed for the night, and the animals make their way at once to the place where they are accustomed to be milked, the *irkarmus.* At the same time, or a little later, the calves are released from their enclosure, the *kadr*, and each calf runs to its mother. The milk of the previous night is churned in the interior of the dwelling-hut, usually by one of the youths of the family.

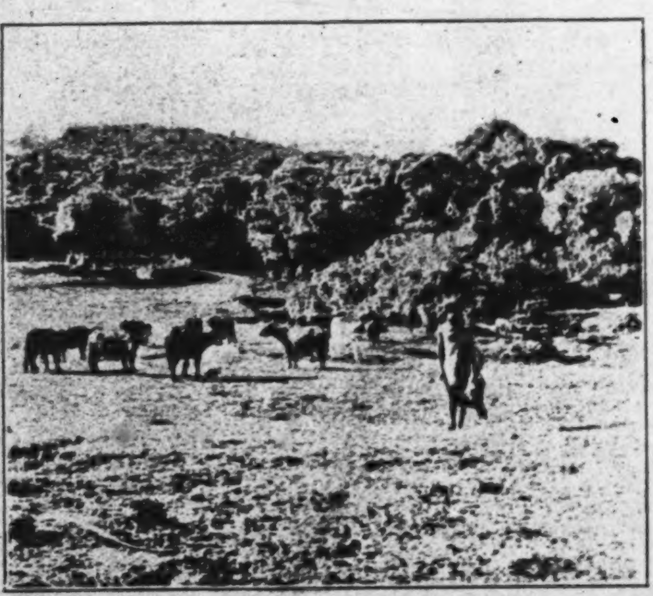

FIG. 16.—THE MORNING MILKING AT THE VILLAGE OF MOLKUSH. IN THE BACKGROUND IS A MODERN 'TU' MADE OF WOODEN PALINGS.

In the dairy one man has to carry out all the dairy operations, and here the churning is always finished before the milking begins; but in the case of the ordinary buffaloes, where many take part in the work, the two operations may go on simultaneously, and while one man or boy is churning, others will be milking the buffaloes and carrying the milk into the hut. Usually it seemed that each of the males of the family was taking his part in the proceedings.

Whenever I watched the milking operations, I saw one

234 man, the head of the family, walking about and superintending the operations, while several other men and youths were milking the buffaloes or churning the milk within the hut. It seemed as if in general each buffalo gave very little milk, and a man soon left one buffalo to go to another, and as the bamboo milking-vessels are small and have soon to be emptied, there was a constant moving about from one buffalo to another

FIG. 17.

and from the milking-place to the hut. A typical milking scene is shown in Fig. 16. Each man carries a stick, with which he keeps off troublesome calves who may come to suck while the milking is going on (see Fig. 17). If a buffalo and its calf are troublesome, milk is sometimes smeared on the back of the calf, and the buffalo occupies herself with licking the calf, a process which keeps both quiet. At other times, a man may pour milk into his hollowed hand which he gives to one of the buffaloes to drink.

When the milking is over, the buffaloes are driven to their grazing-ground, where they remain till the afternoon, when they return, often spontaneously, to the milking-place, and the operations of the morning are repeated. 234 857

While at the pasturage, one or two small boys are often in attendance to keep the buffaloes from straying beyond the proper grazing-ground.

CHAPTER IV

THE VILLAGE DAIRY

234 THIS chapter will be devoted to a description of the various kinds of dairy which are found at the Toda villages. An account will be given of the daily course of the dairy operations and of the ritual accompanying it. The description of special ceremonies which occur in connexion with the dairy will be reserved till future chapters, in which ceremonies of the same nature occurring in all grades of dairy can be considered together.

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A village dairy is often situated at some little distance from the huts in which the people live, though sometimes it is in their immediate neighbourhood. When of the same form as the hut, it may not at once be distinguished from the latter, but it is usually enclosed by a higher wall which surrounds the building more closely, so that there is very little room between the two. The door seemed to me to be usually smaller than that of most of the huts, and it is always capable of being closed by a shutter on the inner side.

The dairy is usually divided into compartments completely separated from one another by a partition extending to the roof, one room being entered from another by a small door of the same kind as that by which the dairy itself is entered. The majority of dairies have two rooms, an inner room called *ulkkursh* and an outer room called *pòrmunkursh*. Many dairies, especially among the kind called *wursuli*, have only one room. At five Tarthar villages, viz., Nòdrs, Taradrkirsi, Keradr, Akirsikòdri, and Tim, there are dairies which have

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

three rooms, the inner and outer rooms being separated by a third, called the *nedrkursh*. Each of the five villages at which these dairies are found is the funeral-place for males of the clan to which the village belongs, and the body of a dead man is placed in the outer room of the dairy at each place during the funeral ceremonies. 234 343 621

At Nòdrs and Tedshteiri (villages of the Nòdrs clan) it is said that there were at one time dairies each of which had seven rooms. The ruins of these, which were of the grade called *kudrpali*, are still to be seen.

Sometimes the same building serves for two dairies, especially at the less important villages of a clan. In these cases the building resembles that kind of hut which is called *merkalars*, one compartment of the hut opening at the side. At the villages at which I found dairies of this kind, the front part of the hut was a *kudrpali* and the part with the door at the side was a *wursuli*. In these cases each dairy has only one room.

In every dairy which has more than one room, the dairy vessels are kept in the inner room and the actual dairy operations are performed by the dairyman in this room. He only is allowed to go into the inner room, while other men may go into the outer room and, in those cases in which there are three rooms, into the middle room.

When a village dairy has two or more rooms, the outer room first entered from the outside is often used as a sleeping-place and in this case usually has two of the couches called *tüu*, one on each side with a fireplace between them. That on the right-hand side as one enters is called the *meitüu* (*meiltüu*), or high (superior) bed, and that on the left-hand side is the *kitüu*, or low (inferior) bed. 234 343 352

In the outer room is kept the *kepun* or *kaipun* (hand vessel), used to hold the water with which the dairyman washes his hands. The *masth*, or axe used for cutting firewood, and the *tek* or *tekh*, a basket used to bring rice or grain into the dairy, are also kept in this room. [415]

The fireplace between the two sleeping-places is usually made of four stones and is called *kudrvars*. At the *wursuli* it is made of three stones and is called *waskal*. [354]

234 The room of the dairy which contains the dairy vessels
343 is divided into three parts: the *patatmar*, the *ertatmar*, and
352 the *kalkani*.

The *patatmar* takes its name from the *patat*, an earthenware
412 vessel into which the milk is poured from the milking vessel
415 and in which it is churned. The vessels kept in this part of the inner room, which are known collectively as *patatpur*, are those which are actually used in the milking and churning.

The *ertatmar* takes its name from the *ertat*, a bamboo vessel used to carry buttermilk or butter out of the dairy. The *ertat* and the vessels kept with it, known collectively as the *ertatpur*, are those which receive the products of the churning or are used to convey these products out of the dairy. The lamp and the fire-sticks used for making fire by friction are also kept in this part of the dairy.

In the third part of the room, called the *kalkani*, are kept leaves, firewood, knives, and various sticks or wands. According to some accounts, the vessel called *penpariv* is also kept here.

When the dairy vessels are taken into a new dairy (see Chap. VI.), they are placed on ferns. I do not know whether they always rest on a bed of ferns or whether the ferns are only used when the vessels are first placed in the dairy.

234 The following is a list of the *patatpur*, the vessels and other
objects which are kept in the part of the dairy called
412 *patatmar*:

415 *Patat* or *tat*. Earthenware vessels into which the freshly drawn milk is poured and in which it is churned (Fig. 18, F). There are several of these vessels, one of which may be used to hold water.

Irkartpun or *patatpun*. The bamboo milking-vessel (Fig. 18, I).

Parskadrvenmu or *parskadrpenmu*, *i.e.*, milk churn butter *mu* (Fig. 18, H). This is also sometimes called *kazhmu*, and is a small earthenware vessel in which is kept the butter (*pen*) which is added while churning. Except when the churning is in progress, it is used as a cover for the *patat*.

Adimu. An earthenware vessel (Fig. 18, K) into which

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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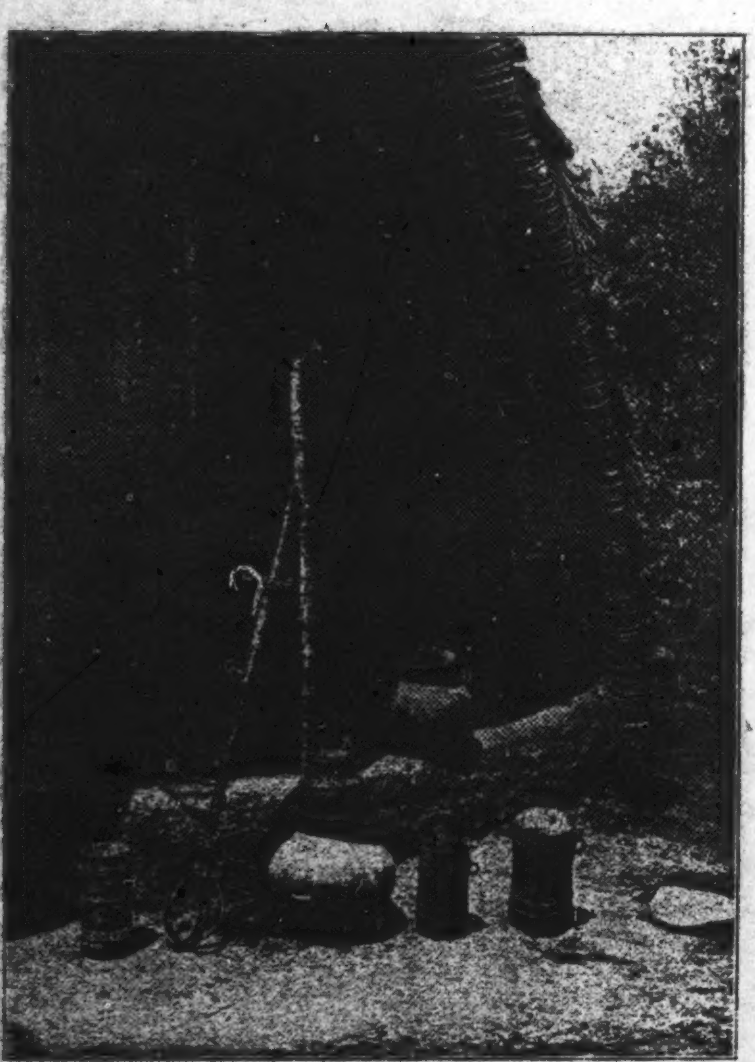

FIG. 18.—THE CHIEF DAIRY VESSELS.

A. The *palmän.*
B. The *palkati,*
C. The *madth.*
D. A *tedshk.*
E. The *ertatpun.*
F. The *patat.*
G. The *pälmachok.*
H. The *parskadrvenmu.*
I. The *irkartpun.*
K. The *adimu.*

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some of the coagulated milk may be poured while churning. It may also be used to fetch water from the dairy stream.

Madth or *parskartmadth.* Churning-stick (Fig. 18, C).

Palkati. Bamboo rings for holding the churning-stick while churning.

Parskurs or *ularwurthkurs.* Stick or wand used chiefly for driving off calves while milking.

Tatkich. The cut-up ends of a churning-stick, used for cleaning the *patat.*

Tedshk. Rings made of rattan (Fig. 18, D), used in carrying the dairy vessels.

The garment of the dairyman, called *tuni*, is also kept here. and when there is a *mani* (bell), it is kept on the *patatmar.* The churning-stick is kept on a stand called *agar.*

The following are the objects kept on the *ertatmar*:

Majpariv. Vessel in which buttermilk is kept.

Penpariv. Vessel in which butter is kept. (According to some, this vessel is kept in the part called *kalkani.*)

Ertatpun. Vessel used to take buttermilk or butter out of the dairy (Fig. 18, E).

Majertkudriki. A small earthenware pot used like a ladle to take buttermilk out of the *majpariv.* It is also called *ashkiok.*

Pòlmachok. A bamboo vessel (Fig. 18, G) used to hold the buttermilk which is distributed to the people of the village.

Nirsi. The fire-sticks for making fire by friction.

Pelk. The lamp.

Tòratthadi. Cooking vessel which may be used for anything except barley.

Put, a stirring-stick.

When there is only one room, the *masth*, axe for cutting firewood, may be kept on the *ertatmar*; otherwise it is kept in the outer room.

The vessels and other objects of the *patatmar* are those which come directly into contact with the milk of the buffaloes or which may at any time come into contact with the buffaloes themselves.

The vessels and objects of the *ertatmar*, on the other hand, are those which contain the dairy products which are going

out to ordinary people (*perol*), or which come into contact 234
with food or other materials obtained from ordinary people. 412

The things of the *patatmar* are always kept apart from 415
those of the *ertatmar*. When the buffaloes migrate from one
grazing-place to another, the things of the *patatmar* are carried
by one man and those of the *ertatmar* by another.

In connexion with many dairies there is a house in which 234
calves are kept, the *kwotars*, and a place for very young 343
calves, called *kush* or *kudsh*, which is sometimes partly formed 417
by the spreading roots of a tree.

I am in some doubt as to whether the buffaloes belonging to a village dairy ever have a special *tu* in which they are enclosed for the night. In general, however, there is no doubt that the sacred buffaloes of the dairy occupy the same pen as the ordinary buffaloes. Similarly I am not clear whether the dairy always has its own *irkarmus*, or milking-place, or whether ordinary and sacred buffaloes are not often milked at the same spot, the dairyman recognising the buffaloes committed to his charge and milking them only.

Every dairy has its own place from which water is drawn 234
the *pali nipa*. This may be a different stream from that used 312
for household purposes, but is, perhaps, most commonly part
of the same stream, the higher part being used for dairy 621
purposes. When a village has more than one dairy, each
dairy has its own place for drawing water, usually different
parts of the same stream.

The foregoing account holds good of all kinds of village dairy. The different grades of village dairy present differences in the daily procedure, in the qualifications and rules of conduct of the dairyman, and in other respects. I will begin with the *tarvali* of the Tartharol.

THE TARVALI

This is the name applied to the lowest grade of Tarthar 234
dairy and may mean "the ordinary dairy," the first syllable 463
being probably the same as in the word "Tarthar."
618

The *tarvali* is always of the ordinary form and is never
called *poh*. The dairyman, or *tarvalikartmokh*, is often a 621

234 463 618 621 youth or man of the village to which the dairy belongs, but he may be taken from any other village of the clan or from other Tarthar villages, the choice in some cases being restricted to certain clans. The only Tarthar clan which is strictly limited to its own members in the choice of *tarvalikartmokh* is that of Melgars. In all cases this grade of dairyman must be one of the Tartharol; he is never taken from the other division of the Toda people.

[465] When the dairyman is taken from another clan, he may receive certain wages, viz., two cloaks (*putkuli*) in the year and six rupees, together with the loan of a milking buffalo for the use of his family. I have no definite information whether anything is given to dairymen who are members of the clan or family to which the dairy belongs.

[554] The dairyman is regarded by the Todas as a servant, especially when taken from another clan. I was often told that a man was working for another and was his servant, and always found that the so-called servant was *palikartmokh* at the dairy of the village at which the master lived. Correspondingly, there seemed to be no doubt that the dairyman was treated with very scant respect, except on ceremonial occasions and when actually performing the ritual of his office.

234 292 513 554 558 784 The *tarvalikartmokh* wears nothing but the *kuvn*, or perineal band, when he is in the dairy, and wears a loincloth called *irkarthtadrp* when milking. When away from his work or when looking after his buffaloes on the grazing-ground, he wears the ordinary cloak, or *putkuli*. He usually sleeps in the outer room of the dairy, but is allowed to sleep at any time in the dwelling-hut. When he goes there he may only touch the sleeping-place (*idrtül*) and the floor (*kuter*). If he touches any other part of the hut, he at once loses his office and becomes an ordinary person. There are no restrictions on the intercourse of the *tarvalikartmokh* with women.

234 512 788 When the *tarvalikartmokh* rises in the morning, he leaves the dairy, raising one or both hands to his face as in Fig. 10 and saying *Sami* or *Swami*. He often also says this word when getting up from the sleeping-place. He first lets the buffaloes out of the pen (*tu*) in which they had been put for the night and then goes into the dairy to churn. He does not light the

234 512 788 lamp in the morning unless it is dark, nor does he pray. The milk poured into the *patat* overnight will have coagulated, so that it forms a solid mass called *adrpars*. The dairyman puts the churning-stick into the *patat* and churns for a little time till he has broken up the *adrpars*.[1] Then he pours off most of the semi-fluid milk into another vessel (also a *patat*), leaving about one *kudi*[2] in the churning-vessel. He adds to this some butter from a previous churning, which he takes from the *parskadrvenmu*, adds also some water, and churns the mixture till butter is formed. He pours out the buttermilk into the *majpariv*, keeping the butter in the *patat*, adds more coagulated milk and water, and churns again, transferring the buttermilk to its vessel when butter is formed. He continues in this way till all the milk has been churned, and he then transfers the butter which has been formed to the vessel called *penpariv*, also putting a small portion in the *parskadrvenmu*.

The *palikartmokh* then goes out to milk, with the *irkarthpun* and the wand called *parskurs* or *ularwurthkurs*. He puts into the milking-vessel some buttermilk, the buttermilk used for this purpose being called *pep*, and he also smears some butter on the edge of the vessel to put on the teats of the buffaloes. When he goes out, he salutes by raising the *irkarthpun* and *parskurs* to his forehead in the same manner as is shown in Fig. 27. When he has filled the milking-vessel, he goes into the dairy and empties the milk into the *patat* and returns to the buffaloes. This is repeated till all the buffaloes have been milked, after which the dairyman takes food and buttermilk, but with no prescribed ritual as in the case of more sacred dairies. He also gives out buttermilk to the people of the village. After the work of the morning is over, the *palikartmokh* may go out to look after the buffaloes, or may collect firewood, leaves, or other things [461] necessary for his work. During the later hours of the morning the *palikartmokh* may often be seen lying down taking a rest before he begins the work of the afternoon, which is more ceremonial than that of the morning.

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[1] This is literally 'cooked milk.' It probably receives this name because the coagulation is often hastened by heating.

[2] About four pints.

234 About three o'clock in the afternoon he goes to the dairy,
512 bows down and touches the threshold with his forehead
788 (*pavnersatiti*, Fig. 20), enters and touches a vessel on the
patat side, and then a vessel on the *ertat* side. He then lights the fire and inspects the milk drawn in the morning. If it has not become solid, he puts it on the fire for a few minutes to hasten the coagulation. He lights the lamp and prays, using the prayer of the dairy (see Chap. X), and then churns as in the morning. When he has finished churning, he clears the churning-stick of the butter clinging to it, and after holding it to his forehead and uttering the sacred word "*Oñ*," he puts it in the stand called *agar*. He then goes out to milk as in the morning, taking buttermilk in the milking-vessel. When the milking is over, he shuts up the buffaloes in the pen for the night, and as he does so, he repeats the prayer of the dairy, the prayer being exactly the same as that used when lighting the lamp. He then takes food and

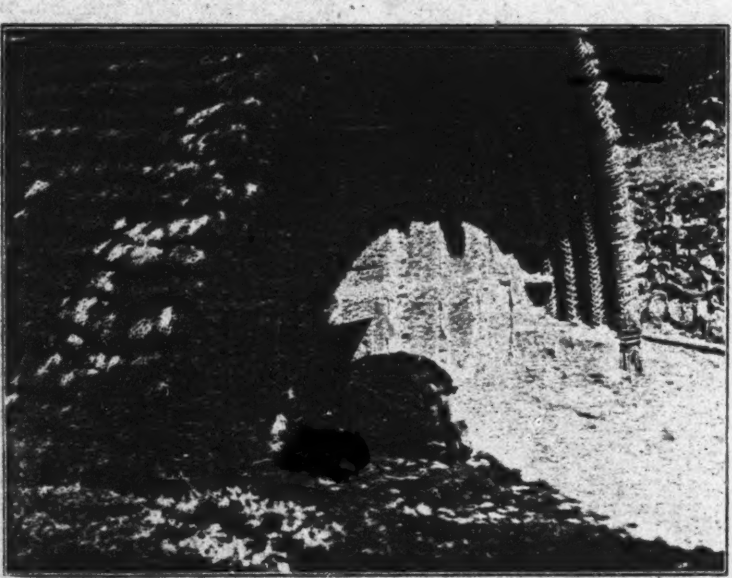

FIG. 20.—THE 'PALIKARTMOKH' SALUTING THE THRESHOLD OF THE DAIRY AT KIUDR 'PAVNERSATITI.'

234 goes to sleep, often saying *Swami* as he lies down for the
512 night.

554 The *tarvali* of the Melgars people is in some ways
778 regarded as superior to the other *tarvali* of the Tartharol.
788 The Melgars *tarvalikartmokh* may not go to the *tarvali* of
another Tarthar clan, though the *tarvalikartmokh* of another clan may go to a Melgars *tarvali*. This was said to be due to the higher degree of sanctity of the Melgars dairy and office, but there do not appear to be any differences of ritual corresponding to this different degree of sanctity.

THE KUDRPALI

234 The special feature of the *kudrpali* is that it contains one
778 or more of the bells called *mani*. This involves several
788 additions to the ceremonial of the dairy, and these are
accompanied by more stringent rules of conduct for the dairyman.

234 Whenever engaged in his work, the *kudrpalikartmokh* must be
292 naked except for the *kuvn*. In the cold Nilgiri mornings it must
461 often be a very unpleasant task to have to milk the buffaloes
463 with no covering, and I was told that at some places, and
especially at Nodrs, the people gave up the maintenance of a *kudrpali* on account of the difficulty experienced in obtaining men to undertake the office of dairyman.

234 When the *kudrpalikartmokh* is taking his meals, he must
264 hold his food in his hands till he has finished. He is not
778 allowed to put it down on the ground, as may be done by
the dairyman of the *tarvali*.

788 Soon after beginning to churn, the *kudrpalikartmokh* takes
up some of the broken-up curd (*adrpars*) and puts it on the bell (*mani*) three times, saying "*Oñ*" each time, and milk from the vessel first brought into the dairy is also put on the bell in the same manner.

234 At the *kudrpali* of Kars, the dairyman puts the curd and
778 milk on a board called *pato*. The bells of this dairy have
788 been lost, and the dairyman puts the milk on the board on
which the bells used to hang. The process of putting milk on the bells is properly called *terzantirikiti*, but the Todas

234 often speak of the process as "feeding the bell." At the
778 *kudrpali* of Kuzhu, belonging to the Kars clan, milk is put in
788 the same way on a gold bracelet.

When making butter, it will be remembered that the dairyman of the *tarvali* makes a certain amount, and then pours away the buttermilk, and repeats this till all the *adrpars* has been converted into butter and buttermilk. Whenever the *kudrpalikartmokh* pours away buttermilk, he takes a piece of the bark of the sacred *tudr* tree (*Meliosma pungens* and *Wightii*) and beats three times on the *patat*, saying "*Oñ*" each time. This ceremony is called *pepeirthti*, and is the exclusive privilege of the *kudrpalikartmokh*. If this ceremony should be omitted, the buttermilk may not be drunk by any one.

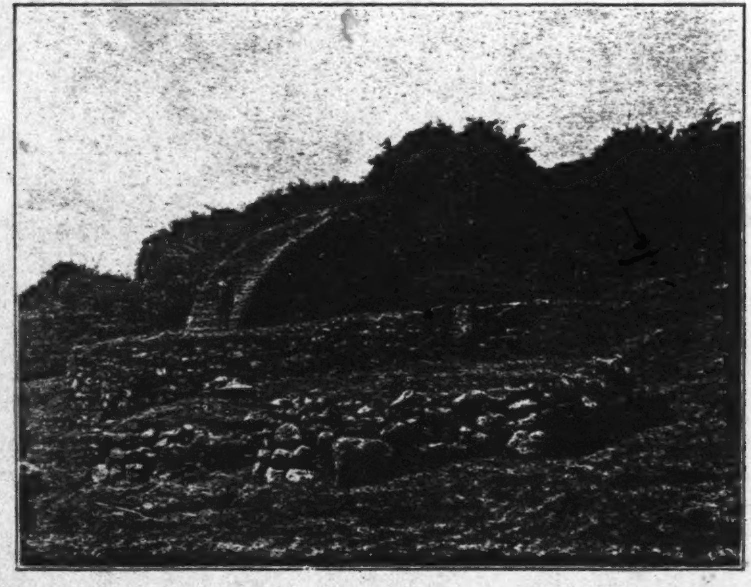

FIG. 21.—THE 'KUDRPALI' OF KARS, WITH THE 'KUDRPALIKARTMOKH' STANDING ON THE WALL. IN THE FOREGROUND IS THE MOUND CALLED 'IMUDRIKARS' IN THE BACKGROUND ON THE RIGHT IS THE CALF-HOUSE.

234 The *kudrpalikartmokh* is allowed to sleep in the ordinary
513 hut, but only on special days—viz., Sunday, Wednesday, and
554 Saturday—and on these days he must, like the *tarvalikartmokh*,
784

234 avoid touching anything in the hut except the sleeping-place
513 and the floor on pain of losing his office. He is allowed
554 intercourse with any Tarthar woman, but must have nothing
784 to do with the women of his own division, the Teivaliol.

While in office, the *kudrpalikartmokh* is not allowed to visit
[558] the bazaar,[1] and if he does so he becomes an ordinary person at once. One afternoon when I was working with Parkurs (8), one of the elders of the Kars clan, Sakari (7), who had been *kudrpalikartmokh* at Kuzhu, came to announce that he had visited the bazaar at Ootacamund. He was therefore no longer *palikartmokh*, and he came to tell Parkurs that a successor must be appointed. It seemed to me in this case that Sakari had visited the bazaar because he was tired of office and wished to become free. I had a suspicion also that he wished to become acquainted with my proceedings, for he came straight to me from the bazaar and was one of my most regular attendants for some time after his deprivation. The *kudrpalikartmokh* is prohibited from entering a *tarvali*, though the *tarvalikartmokh* may enter a *kudrpali*.

234 The milk of buffaloes connected with a *kudrpali* is more
272 sacred than that of buffaloes milked at a *tarvali*. Any one
554 may drink milk from a *tarvali*, but the milk of the *kudrpali*
761 may only be drunk by the *palikartmokh*. If any one else
784 drink the milk of the *kudrpali* it is believed that he will die.
I could learn of no case in which a man had taken this milk, but Kòdrner (7) had seen a cat die on the day it had drunk milk of the *martir*, the buffaloes of the *kudrpali* of Kars. Kòdrner was somewhat of a sceptic in connexion with many of the beliefs of his people, but he was very much in earnest on this occasion, and when my interpreter said he should like to drink some of the milk, Kòdrner offered to give him one hundred rupees if he drank the milk of *martir* for four days and remained alive.

173 The buffaloes tended at the *tarvali* and *kudrpali* are of
234 several named kinds. According to tradition, each clan at
618 the original distribution of buffaloes by Teikirzi (see p. 186)
was given a certain kind. To Kars were given the buffaloes

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[1] I am not sure whether this restriction does not also apply to the *tarvalikartmokh*.

called *martir*; to Nòdrs were given *nashperthir*; to Pan, 173
pineipir; to Melgars, *persasir*; these buffaloes originally given 234
being called in general *nòdrodvaiir*; lit. "buffaloes who 618
rule."

In various ways the buffaloes originally given to one clan 425
have passed into the possession of other clans. This has 431
happened when buffaloes have been purchased, but is chiefly
due to the existence of several customs which involve
gifts of buffaloes. The tradition also runs that soon after the
buffaloes were originally given, the Nòdrs people built the
kudrpali with seven rooms to which I have already referred
and begged the Kars people for *martir* to milk at this dairy.
Similarly the people of Kanòdrs borrowed *martir* from Kars
to milk at their conical dairy, and similar transferences of
buffaloes may have occurred between other clans. In these
and possibly in other ways buffaloes have passed from one
clan to another, and as the buffaloes have in many cases kept
their original names, most clans now possess buffaloes of
several kinds.

I was for a long time very doubtful about the relation of 234
the *kudrpali* and *tarvali* to one another, and had very great 778
difficulty in finding out which buffaloes belonged to each kind
of dairy. Finally, it became quite clear that the same buffaloes
might be milked either at a *kudrpali* or a *tarvali*, and that the
possession of a *mani* was the chief point which determined
whether a given dairy was a *kudrpali* or a *tarvali*.

The same kind of buffalo may be milked at one kind of 234
dairy in one clan and at the other kind in another clan. The 618
nashperthir of Nòdrs are milked at the *tarvali* of that place,
but those of Kars are milked at the *kudrpali* together with the 621
martir. Further, in at least one case, the same buffaloes 778
might be milked in one village of a clan at a *kudrpali* and in
another village at a *tarvali*. The Pan people now live chiefly
at Naters and the chief villages of the clan in the Kundahs,
Pan and Kuirsi, are deserted during the greater part of the
year. When these villages are occupied the *pineipir* are
milked at their *kudrpali* dairies, but when the people are at
Naters the same buffaloes are milked at the *tarvali*. The
mani is left at Pan, and I was told that if the bell were to b

234 618 621 778 brought to Naters a *kudrpali* would have to be built for its reception and the *pineipir* would then be milked at this dairy.

At the present time the only clan which has a *kudrpali* in constant use is that of Kars. The Pan clan only uses its *kudrpali* during the few months that the villages in the Kundahs are occupied. The Nòdrs clan is said to have had a *kudrpali* at one time, but the fact that they had to borrow buffaloes for it from Kars points to the especial connexion of the *kudrpali* with the latter clan.

Although the Karsol and Panol are the only clans which have a *kudrpali*, the special feature of which is the possession of a *mani*, these are not the only clans which own these sacred bells. In other cases the *mani* belongs to the next higher grade of dairy, the *wursuli*, and the Kars clan itself also possesses *mani* kept at this grade of dairy. Indeed, although the Kars *kudrpali* is said to have bells as its special feature, these bells do not really exist, having been stolen some years ago. The fiction of their presence is, however, kept up, and, as we have seen, the place where they should hang is still 'fed' with curd and milk.

234 421 618 621 In one case, that of the Kars *kudrpali*, I worked out in detail the ownership and care of the buffaloes called *martir*. There were altogether forty-eight of these buffaloes kept at six places and tended by seven dairymen, who were chosen from the Karsol or from the people of Nòdrs, Pan, Taradr or Keradr.

The distribution at the time of my visit was as follows :—

Kutadri (7)	possessed	8	buffaloes	kept at	Kars	tended by	Idjen of Taradr (22)
Kutthurs (12)	,,	8	,,	,,	,,	,,	Tilipa of Kars (12)
Parkurs (8)	,,	8	,,	,,	Isharadr	,,	Kosners of Nòdrs (6)
Pidrvan (9)	,,	6	,,	,,	Pakhalkudr	,,	Tidjkudr of Nòdrs (6)
Kuinervan (14)	,,	6	,,	,,	Peletkwur	,,	Pons of Keradr (26)
Potheners (10)	,,	6	,,	,,	Keshker	,,	Palpa of Pan (16)
Nudriki (8)	,,	3	,,	,,	Kuzhu	,,	Mutkudr of Kars (15)
Mongeithi (15)	,,	3	,,	,,	,,	,,	,, ,,

It will be noticed that in only two of the dairies did the *palikartmokh* belong to the Karsol, and in each case he looked after the buffaloes of his own father, Mutkudr also tending the buffaloes of Nudriki. Idjen was the son-in-law of

Kutadri, and Palpa had married a Kars woman, who was 234
not, however, closely related to Potheners, to whom he was 421
acting as dairyman. Kosners and Tidjkudr were given to me
as examples of a practice in which a man of one clan works 618
for one of another,[1] and they received the same wages as in 621
the case of the *tarvalikartmokh* (see p. 62).

These facts show clearly that the *kudrpalir* are not regarded as the property of the whole clan, but belong to different families, and the same is true of the buffaloes milked at the *tarvali*. Each family possesses its own sacred buffaloes as well as its ordinary buffaloes or *putiir*, and in some cases the buffaloes of each family have their own dairyman, even when the milk of two herds is churned in the same dairy.

THE WURSULI

Most of the Tarthar clans possess herds of buffaloes called 173
collectively *wursulir*, each herd being tended by a diaryman 234
called *wursol* at a dairy called *wursuli* or *wursuli pali*. The 618
buffaloes of different clans have special names. At Nòdrs, they are called *mersgursir*; at Kars and Taradr, *püdrshtipir*; at Pan, *kudeipir*; at Keradr, *miniapir*; and at Nidrsi and Kwòdrdoni, *keitankursir*. The people of Päm, Kanòdrs, and Melgars have no *wursulir*; Päm and Kanòdrs both had buffaloes of this kind at one time, but they have been allowed to die out. Melgars, on the other hand, never had *wursulir*, the tradition being that none of these buffaloes were assigned to the clan at the original partition by Teikirzi.

The *wursulir* are said to have been given to most clans at the original partition of buffaloes, but no reason could be given for the creation of this special kind of buffalo. The Keradr clan are believed to have received their *wursulir* from Korateu (see Chap. IX), the buffaloes being descended from a sambhar calf given by this god.

A special feature of the *wursuli* is that the dairyman or 234
wursol of this Tarthar dairy has to be taken either from 463
the Teivaliol or from the Melgars clan of the Tartharol. The 554
618

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[1] See Chapter XXIII.

Melgars people could hold the office of *wursol*, but had no
234 *wursulir* themselves. At the present time the majority of
463 men who hold this office are drawn from the Teivaliol, only
554 two belonging to Melgars, and it seemed that it was only
618 when the supply ran short among the Teivaliol that the
Tarthar people had recourse to members of their own division. The Melgarsol do not share fully the privileges of the Teivaliol in respect of this office, for though they may perform the ordinary work of the dairy, there are certain duties of the *wursol*, such as those at the funeral ceremonies, which may only be performed by a Teivali occupant of the office.

234 The *wursol* has to go through more complicated ordination
554 ceremonies than the *palikartmokh*, and has a distinctly higher
784 degree of sanctity so far as one can judge from the rules for
793 his conduct. He may not be touched by any ordinary
person, and in general the rules regulating his conduct are more stringent than those for the ordinary dairyman.

[292] The *wursol* has two dresses; one, the grey garment called *tuni*, which is worn at his dairy work and kept in the dairy; the other, the ordinary *putkuli*, which he wears when not engaged at his special work.

[513] The *wursol* does not sleep in his own dairy, but in one of
a different kind, a village which has a *wursuli* always having
at least one other dairy. At Kars he sleeps in the *kudrpali*,
[834] and at Nòdrs in the *tarvali*. He is allowed to sleep in the
hut of a Tarthar village on two nights in the week—viz.,
Sunday and Wednesday—and on these occasions he may
[558] have intercourse with any Tarthar woman. Except on these
occasions he loses his office even if touched by a woman. He is not allowed to have intercourse with any Teivali woman, even with his wife if he is married, on pain of becoming an ordinary person.

[574] He may go to any Tarthar village, but to no Teivali village—*i.e.*, if one of the Teivaliol, he is allowed to visit none of his own people.

562 When he goes to the dwelling-hut, care is taken to remove
784 from the hut the objects shown in Fig. 11—viz., the *murn* or
793 sieve, the *wask* or pounder, and the *kip* or broom. It seems

as if these three objects are removed because they are used 562
by women. The emblems of womanhood are not allowed 784
to contaminate the house while the *wursol* is present, al- 793
though, at the same time, he is not restricted from intercourse [illegible] the women themselves. On the mornings after he has slept in the hut he bathes from head to foot before going to the dairy, and prostrates himself at the threshold before he enters.

If the cloak of the *wursol* requires cleaning or mending, it may only be taken to the hut for these purposes on the same days as those on which the *wursol* may sleep there—viz., Sunday or Wednesday.

The food of the *wursol* is prepared for him by the *palikartmokh* of the dairy in which he sleeps. The *wursol* never prepares food either for himself or others, except on the occasion of the festival called *irpalvusthi* (see Chap. VIII).

Most *wursuli* have only one room, the exception being the 234
poh at Nòdrs, and the *wursuli* of Nasmiòdr and Òdr. It 343
is noteworthy that these, however, are three of the most 778
ancient and important dairies of the Todas. The reason why 788
the other *wursuli* have one room is probably the fact that the *wursol* is not allowed to sleep in the dairy, and consequently there is no necessity for an outer room. When these dairies have been rebuilt, or new dairies have been made, the Todas have probably not thought it worth while to keep two rooms except at the especially important and sacred places. I was also told, however, that each of the three places which have two rooms had been at one time a *ti* dairy, and, as we shall see later, dairies of this, the highest, grade always have two rooms.

Another indication of the special sanctity of these three dairies is that at them, and also at the *wursuli* at Kozhtudi, the *wursol* must never turn his back on the contents of the dairy—*i.e.*, he must do all his work and go in and out of the dairy facing the place where the *mani* is kept. The Todas call this proceeding in which the back is never turned on the contents of the dairy "*kabkaditi*."

The vessels of the *wursuli* are divided, like those of the 343
ordinary dairy, into those of the *patatmar* and those of the 352

343 *ertatmar*. The following sketch of the arrangement was made
352 by Kòdmer, but I do not feel confident of its accuracy.

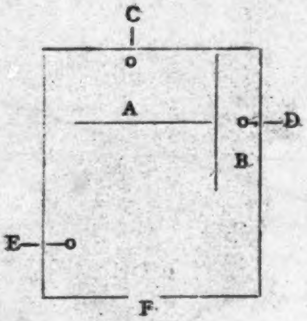

FIG. 22.

A. *Patatmar*.
B. *Ertatmar*.
C. The *mani* or bell.
D. The *telk* or lamp.
E. *Waskal* or fireplace.
F. The door.

354 The lamp is of iron, bought in the bazaar: it is called *tudrkpelk* or *tagarspelk*, according as it is hung by a hook or on a chain. This distinction probably holds for other village dairies.

THE DAILY LIFE OF THE WURSOL

234 The dairy work of the *wursol* is carried out on the same
512 general lines as that of the *palikartmokh*, but the order and
788 method of the various operations are more strictly regulated.
Before the *wursol* goes into the dairy in the morning he washes his hands with water from the vessel called *kepun*,[1] bows down at the threshold and enters the dairy; salutes the *mani* (*kaimukhti*), goes to the *ertatmar* and touches the *majpariv*; then to the *patatmar* and touches the *patat*. Then, after lighting the fire, he takes the *mu* off the *patat*, and, if the milk has coagulated, he begins to churn. After churning for a little while he puts some of the coagulated milk on the *mani*. After the churning is over, he milks, putting some of the first milk on the bell.

234 After the milking is finished, buttermilk is distributed to
272 the women, and a mixture of milk and buttermilk is given to
415 the men, who come to drink it standing outside the dairy.
The *wursol* then drinks buttermilk and eats. When taking

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[1] Probably a corruption of *kaipun*, hand vessel.

234 buttermilk he pours it from the vessel called *ertatpun* into the
272 leaf[1] from which he drinks. When he goes to attend to the
292 buffaloes, he leaves the *tuni* in the dairy and puts on his
415 *putkuli* in a special way which is only adopted by the *wursol*
788 and only by him when engaged in looking after the buffaloes. Placing one end of the cloak over the left shoulder, he brings the other end under the right arm, and, taking this end in his right hand, throws it round the back of his neck so that it rests on the left shoulder. The result of this adjustment is that the front part of his body is uncovered as shown in Fig. 23. I could not ascertain why the *wursol* should wear his cloak in this special way, nor why this method of wearing the garment should be peculiar to his office.[2]

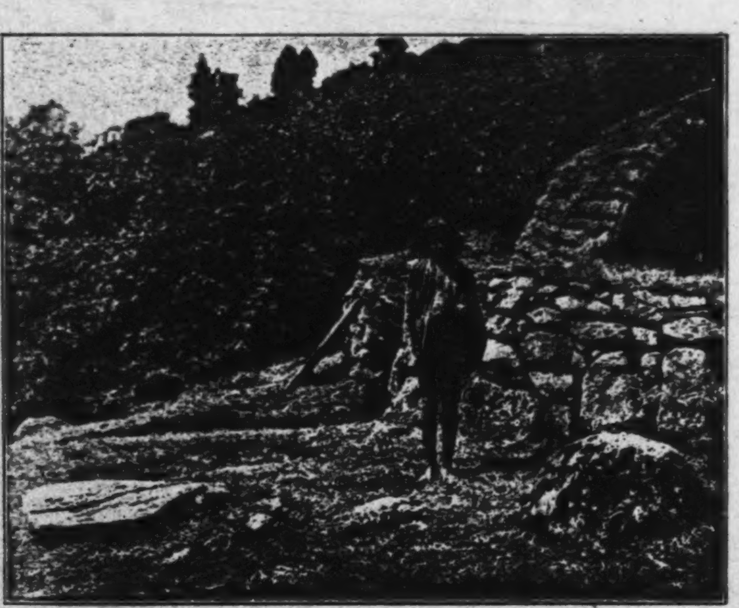

FIG. 23.—THE 'WURSOL' OF KARS, KERNPISI (56), STANDING BY THE SIDE OF HIS DAIRY.

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[1] This is done by folding a leaf in such a way that it forms a cup.

[2] The method of wearing the cloak adopted by the *wursol* is not unlike that shown in a picture at the Guimet Museum in Paris, which represents a Brahman engaged in prayer.

234 512 788 In the afternoon the *wursol* again washes his hands, bows down to the threshold and enters the dairy, salutes the *mani*, touches the *majpariv* and *patat* as in the morning, and lights the fire. He then lights the lamp, and prays, using the prayer of the village. Then he churns and "feeds the bell," but his procedure differs from that of the morning in that he distributes the buttermilk at this stage of the proceedings. When he milks he puts some of the first milk on the bell, and when he shuts up the buffaloes in their enclosure (*tu*) for the night, he recites the same prayer as when lighting the lamp. He then takes his food, eating it outside the dairy, puts his *tuni* on the *patatmar*, and goes to rest.

The procedure thus differs from that of the *tarvali* and *kudrpali* in that the dairy vessels are touched ceremonially at the beginning of both morning and evening operations. The *wursuli* resembles the other dairies, however, in that prayer is offered in the evening only. The differences are less pronounced in ritual than in the rules of conduct.

THE KUGVALI OF TARADR

234 618 621 The people of Taradr have a special institution which is in many ways intermediate between the dairies of the village and the institution to be described in the next chapter—the *ti*.

The buffaloes connected with this institution are known as the *kugvalir*. They are said to belong to the whole of the Tartharol, but this only seems to mean that they are so important that every Toda looks up to them and feels that they are in some measure his. It does not mean that every Toda has a voice in their management or share in their produce.

The people of Taradr are divided into six families (*pòlm*), and each family has charge of the *kugvalir* in turn for periods of three years, the head of the family having the chief direction. At the present time they are in charge of Siriar (20), having only recently passed to his family.

The head of the family in charge appoints the dairyman, who is called *kugvalikartmokh*. This dairyman must be a

234 member of the Taradr clan, but need not necessarily be a
343 member of the family in charge.

618 Each of the chief Taradr villages has a special dairy for
621 the *kugvalir*. It is called the *kugvali* (*kugpali*) or chief dairy (*kug*=*etud*=chief), and it was said to be the chief of all the dairies. All these dairies have one room only, except that at Taradr itself, where there are two rooms. These dairies do not at present differ in form or general appearance from dairies of other kinds. The *kugvali* at Taradr is shown in Fig. 24, and it is the dairy on the right-hand side of Fig. 5.

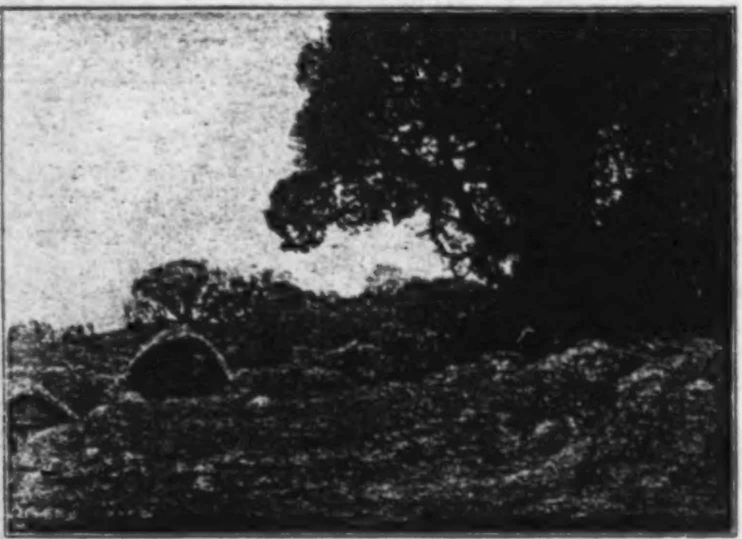

FIG. 24.—THE 'KUGVALI' OF TARADR. ON ITS LEFT IS THE 'KWOTARS,' AND ON THE EXTREME RIGHT, UNDER THE TREE, IS THE 'KUSH.' THE FLAT STONE TO THE RIGHT OF THE 'KUGVALI' IS THE 'PÜDRSHTIKARS' (see p. 654).

234 The *kugvalir* have one feature peculiar to themselves. They are never recruited from any other herd. Even the buffaloes of the *ti* often have additions to their number, especially through the ceremony of *irnörtiti* (Chap. XIII), but in no circumstances are any additions from outside made to the *kugvalir*.

There is a legend that the original buffaloes of this herd

There is a legend that the original buffaloes of this herd[1/A]

173 were sent from Amnòdr[1] by the god On to the people of Taradr.
234 A long time after they came to Taradr the herd was on the
462 point of dying out, only one cow buffalo remaining, which
773 was so old that it had lost its teeth. This sole survivor was pregnant, and when about to calve the delivery was much delayed, and it seemed that the buffalo would die before the calf was born. Only women were present and they cut open the belly of the buffalo and took out the calf, which was tended very carefully and lived, and the existing *kugvalir* are descended from this calf.

This story preserves a tradition of the practice of women attending to the buffaloes at the time of calving, which is said to have been at one time the regular practice.

292 The *kugvalikartmokh* sleeps in the *kwotars* or calf-house,
513 except at Taradr, at which place he sleeps in the outer room
784 of his dairy. He is allowed to sleep in the ordinary hut on
793 certain nights in the week, and may only have intercourse with Tarthar women.

834 He wears the grey garment, or *tuni*, which he ties round his waist when churning and wears over his shoulders when milking.

234 The work of the dairy is carried out on the same general
788 lines as that already described, but with certain distinguishing features.

All the work is done *kabkaditi*; the dairyman never turns his back to the contents of the dairy. In those villages in which he sleeps in the calf-house he goes naked (except for the *kuvn*) to the *kugvali*, washes his hands, prostrates himself at the threshold, enters, and puts on his *tuni* which is kept on the *patatmar*. He salutes the *mani*, which he feeds with curd and milk as in other dairies. He also knocks on the *patat* three times, saying "*On*" each time.

234 As in the other village dairies, he only prays and lights the
415 lamp in the evening. When he gives out buttermilk, he
788 must use the vessel called *pòlmachok*. He drinks buttermilk (*peputi*) in a distinctly more ceremonial manner than in the ordinary dairy, sitting on the seat (*kwottün*) outside the dairy, and pouring from the *ertatpun* into a leaf-cup made of two

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[1] The world of the dead.

[1/A] [The Kugvalir -- Analyst]

leaves of the kind called *kakuders*. He drinks three times 234
only, raising the leaves to his forehead and saying "*Oñ*" each 415
time.

In this more definite ceremonial when drinking buttermilk, 788
we have a transition to the ritual of the *ti*, and this resemblance to the procedure of the *ti* is still more marked in the following features. In addition to the *kugvalir*, the *kugvalikartmokh* has certain ordinary buffaloes, *putiir*, to provide milk for his personal use, and these buffaloes are milked in a special vessel called *kuvun* (*kupun*). This vessel is also used to transfer butter and buttermilk from the *patatmar* to the *ertatmar*, *i.e.*, buttermilk is not poured directly from the *patatpun* into the *majpariv*, but poured from the former into the *kuvun* and from this into the *majpariv*, and similarly the butter is transferred from *patatpun* to *penpariv* by means of the same vessel.

THE DAIRY OF KANÒDRS

Another dairy-temple which occupies an exceptional posi- 343
tion is the *poh* at Kanòdrs. This is a dairy of the conical form, shown in Fig. 25, which differs from that of Nòdrs in being surrounded by two walls (*katu*), both of which are shown in the photograph.

According to one account the people of Kanòdrs borrowed 234
martir from Kars to be milked at this dairy, but at the present 463
time, when the dairy is occupied, the cattle milked are those
called *nashperthir*. 554

The dairyman at this *poh* is called *pohkartpol* and must be a 778
Kanòdrs man. During my visit, the dairy was not occupied and the office of *pohkartpol* was vacant. At the present time a dairyman is appointed about once a year and holds office for thirty or forty days only. So far as I could ascertain, the failure to occupy the dairy constantly is due to the very considerable hardships and restrictions which have to be endured by the holder of the office of dairyman, and the time is probably not far distant when this dairy, one of the most sacred among the Todas, will cease altogether to be used.

● 234 When a *pohkartpol* is in office he is allowed to have one
554 companion, who is a *perol*, or ordinary person, *i.e.*, he undergoes
778 no special ordination ceremony. With the exception of the
784 two men, no one is allowed to go near the building for
any purpose. When I visited the place, my guide stayed
793 a considerable distance away from and out of sight of the
dairy while I went with my interpreter to inspect the building
and its surroundings. The *pohkartpol* and his companion

[343
351]

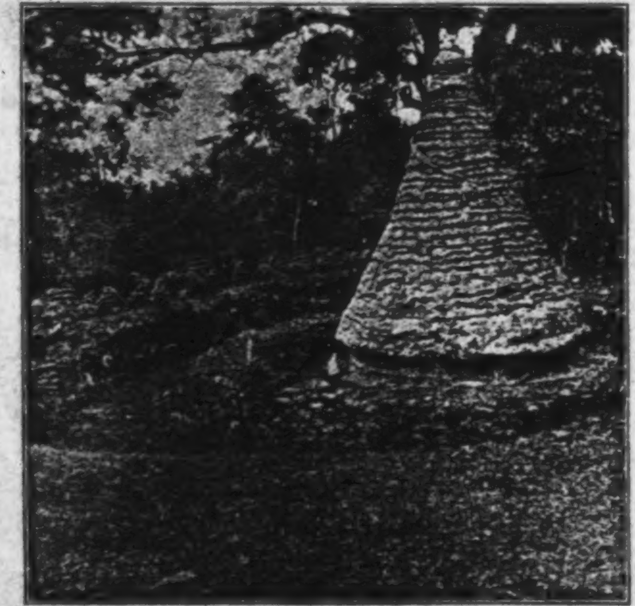

FIG. 25.—THE 'POH' OF KANÒDRS. THE TWO WALLS ARE SHOWN.

sleep in the *kwotars*, or calf-house, in which there is a bed
(*tün*) for each. This building has no door and is a very flimsy
structure, so that sleeping in it can differ very little from sleeping
in the open air. There is a fireplace between the two
beds, but its warmth can hardly be sufficient for any degree of
292 comfort. Further, the *pohkartpol* may only wear the *tuni*, a
793 very scanty garment as compared with the *putkuli*. The
pohkartpol must be celibate while in office, and his companion,
must also be celibate while at the
dairy.

must also be celibate while at the dairy. The *pohkartpol* 264
must take his food sitting on the outer wall which surrounds 554
the dairy. He must not put his hand to his mouth, but must 78.4
throw his food in; nor must he put the leaf used as a cup to his 788
lips, but must pour into his mouth from above.

Several of these rules and restrictions are even more severe 793
than those for the *palol*, to be considered in the next chapter. The reason given for the strictness of ritual is that the god Kwoto or Meilitars "had done so many wonderful things on that side" (see Chapter IX).

One feature peculiar to the Kanòdrs dairy is that milk 192
receives the special name *persin*. This is the name of 234
the churning-vessel of the *ti*, but is not used for milk in any other dairy. Otherwise the names used at Kanòdrs are the same as at other village dairies.

THE TEIVALI DAIRY

Among the Teivaliol, the various grades of dairy and dairy- 184
men so far considered have no existence. Many Teivali 234
villages have two dairies, but each is served by a *palikartmokh* 621
of the same rank.

The general procedure of the Teivali dairy does not appear
to differ in any very marked respect from that of the Tarthar [292]
tarvali. The most marked difference which I could discover is in the clothing of the dairyman. When engaged in the dairy operations, the Teivali *palikartmokh* wears, at any rate in some cases, the *tuni*, or garment of dark grey cloth of the same kind as that worn by the *wursol*.

The sacred buffaloes of the Teivaliol are known as *pasthir*, and there are no differences corresponding to the different grades of the Tartharol. Similarly with one exception, the Teivali *pasthir* of each clan have no special names like the *martir*, *nashperthir*, &c., of the Tartharol. The exception is that the buffaloes of the Piedr clan are called *kudeipir* or *kudipir*, apparently the same name as that of the
wursulir of Pan. 234

The village of Kiudr, belonging to the Kuudrol, possesses a 621
dairy of special sanctity (see Fig. 31). It is served by a 778

● 234 621 778 *palikartmokh*, and it does not appear to have any special complexities of ritual except in connexion with certain bells which this dairy contains. There are six of these bells, two kept on the *patatmar*, called *patatmani*, and four kept on the *ertatmar*, called *ertatmani*. During the dairy ceremonial these bells are 'fed' by the *palikartmokh*, the *patatmani* receiving milk and the *ertatmani* buttermilk. I only became aware of the existence of these bells incidentally, and had not the opportunity of ascertaining their history or meaning. It is clear, however, that they differ from the *mani* of the Tartharol and from those of the Piedr clan among the Teivaliol in that they are never used at a funeral (see p. 352).

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
83

CHAPTER V

THE TI DAIRY

THE *ti* is the name of an institution which comprises a herd of buffaloes with a number of dairies and grazing districts tended by a dairyman-priest or priests called *palol* with an assistant called *kaltmokh*. Each dairy with its accompanying buildings and pasturage is called a *ti mad*, or *ti* village. 234 793

In most cases there are two kinds of buffaloes at each *ti*, and each kind should properly be tended by its own *palol* and *kaltmokh*. There is, however, only one *ti* which possesses two *palol* at the present time, and they share a *kaltmokh* between them, though a second is appointed on certain ceremonial occasions. In other cases one *palol* tends both kinds of buffalo, and in others, again, the dairies are unoccupied for the greater part of the year and the office of *palol* is only filled for certain limited periods.

Each *ti* is regarded as the property of a Tarthar clan, but the *palol* has to be taken from the Teivaliol, the choice being in some cases restricted to one or two Teivali clans; thus, the *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti* must belong either to Piedr or Kusharf. The *palol* is chosen by the Tarthar owners, but the latter do not seem to gain any material advantage from their possession. In fact, it involves them in some expense owing to the necessity of giving certain feasts, and this expense was put forward as one reason why a *ti* is often unoccupied. Never- 184 234 616

184 234 616 theless the Tartharol are very proud of the fact that the institution of the *ti* belongs to their division, and whenever I asked a Tarthar man why he considered his people superior to the Teivaliol, the answer always ran that they had the *ti* and that the Teivaliol who tended the *ti* were their servants.

234 778 The buffaloes belonging to a *ti* are of two kinds, distinguished as *persinir* and *punir*. The former are the sacred buffaloes, and the elaborate ceremonial of the *ti* dairy is concerned with their milk. The *punir* correspond in some respects to the *putiir* of the ordinary village dairy, and their milk and its products are largely for the personal use and profit of the *palol* and are not treated with any special ceremony. The *persinir* are usually of various kinds, but the nature of their classification is different at each *ti* and its consideration may be postponed till later.

115 124 234 I obtained most of my information from people connected with the Nòdrs *ti*. During the whole of my visit the herds of this *ti* were at Mòdr, which is only about a mile from the Paikara bungalow. Owing to the restrictions on intercourse with so sacred a personage as a *palol*, it was not practicable to obtain all my information from those actually in office, and I found it best to work with men who had formerly held the post and had retired. I worked chiefly with Kaners (63), an old man who had been *palol* at the Nòdrs *ti*, and with Koboners (58), who had been at the Kars *ti*. For some time I worked with one or other of these two men every day, paying occasional visits to Mòdr to observe as much of the ceremonial as I was allowed to see. On these occasions I was also able to consult Karkievan, the chief *palol*, on points about which the ex-officials were doubtful.

Both Kaners and Koboners were trustworthy witnesses, but Kaners was old and had given up his office some time before, and in consequence often committed faults of omission. Koboners was an admirable informant, and the fulness of the account of the *ti* ceremonial is largely due to him. It must be remembered that I was only able to see for myself a few superficial features of the ceremonial, and that my account is based on the descriptions given by these and other men, but

115 124 234 nevertheless I have a considerable degree of confidence in its essential accuracy.

234 343 793 The dairy of a *ti* is always called *poh*, whatever its shape may be, and at those places where there is, or should be, more than one *palol*, each has his own dairy. In these cases the work of one dairy goes on quite independently of the other, each *palol* being only allowed to enter and work in his own building. In addition to the dairy, or dairies, there is at each *ti mad* a hut in which the *palol* and *kaltmokh* sleep and in which the latter takes his food. When there are two *palol*, both sleep in the same hut. There is a house for the calves called *karenpoh*, corresponding to the *kwotars* of the village dairy.

234 417 778 The milking-place of a *ti mad* is called *pepkarmus* instead of *irkarmus*, as at the ordinary dairy, and is usually enclosed so that the buffaloes are screened from the eyes of ordinary people.

There is always one buffalo-pen, or *tu*,[1] for ordinary use, and at some places two others, called *pon tu*, or festival pens, used on the ceremonial occasions of migration from one place to another and of salt-giving.

The surroundings of the dairy are called *pül*, and there is a special part of the *pül* to which alone the ordinary Toda is allowed to go, and he may only go there by a special path. Each *ti* dairy which I visited was by the side of a wood and the place for ordinary Todas was in the wood.

234 312 778 At a little distance from the dairy there is the source from which the water for sacred purpose is drawn. This source is called *kwoinir*, and at Mòdr, where there was a *kwoinir* for each *palol*, it was a spring built in with stones, and not a stream as at most villages. In addition to the *kwoinir* there is also a stream from which water is taken by the *kaltmokh*, who is not allowed to go to the sacred spring.

There are various stones and other objects of ceremonial importance at most *ti* places, but the description of these may be given with that of the ceremonies in which they play a part.

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[1] The proper name for the pen at the *ti* was *mukadr*, and for the calf-pen, *tülkkadr*, but my informants always used the ordinary words *tu* and *kadr*.

● 234 343 351 At Mòdr, the diary place I know best, all the buildings and objects of the *ti mad* are shut off from the outer world either by walls or by the natural configuration of the ground or forest. Within this screen, partly natural and partly artificial, there is the large milking-ground which may be entered by the buffaloes from two directions, and on one side of this are the three pens, the two dairies, and other buildings.

The more important of the two dairies has situated close to it the sleeping-hut and two huts for the calves, and this small group of buildings, shown in Fig. 27, is surrounded by a wall like that round the ordinary village dairy, leaving little space between the wall and buildings. These buildings, being within the outer boundaries of the *ti mad*, are already well screened from the world, and in consequence the surrounding wall is low. The other dairy is situated on the boundary, so that it can be seen by anyone outside the *ti mad*, and the wall around it is therefore high, so that a person standing outside can see nothing of the proceedings of the dairyman. At Mòdr the water springs are at some distance from the dairies and there is a special path by which the *palol* goes from the dairy to fetch water.

At another dairy, that of Anto, there is one path by which the *palol* goes to fetch water and another ~~by which he returns~~, but I do not know if this is so at all dairies.

Although I visited Mòdr on many occasions, I never had an opportunity to investigate the buildings closely. I was never allowed to go within the walls enclosing the dairies, much less to go inside these buildings. If the annual programme of the *ti* had been carried out, the buffaloes would have left this place before the end of my visit, and I intended to make a thorough inspection after they had gone; but owing to various causes I mention elsewhere (see Chap. VI) the herds stayed at Mòdr till after my departure, and I had no opportunity of ascertaining the exact plan of the dairies and their surroundings.

234 343 352 The dairy of a *ti* always has two rooms, an inner room, the *ulkkursh*, and an outer room, the *pòrmunkursh*. These are divided from one another by a screen, or *patun*, which stretches

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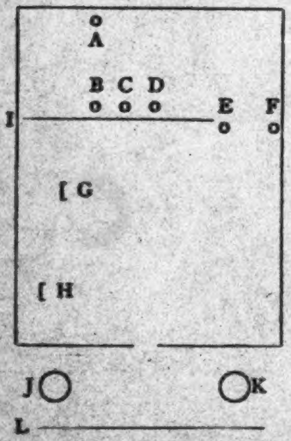
about two-thirds of the way across the breadth of the building and is about three feet high. The *palol* stands in the outer room and performs the dairy operations proper to the inner room leaning over the top of the screen. The object of the screen is to keep the sacred objects of the dairy from the gaze of anyone who may look in, and especially from that of the *kaltmokh*; but in the only dairy of the kind into which I had the chance of looking, the screen was made of vertical sticks with wide intervals between them, so that I could easily see through. This dairy was, however, unoccupied, and if dairy vessels had been there, it is possible that they would have been screened from view in some way. In this dairy the screen extended from the right-hand wall as one looked in, but at Mòdr I was told that the screen was attached to the left-hand wall, and there were certain facts which make it almost certain that this statement is correct, though I had not the opportunity of confirming it by actual observation.



A. *Mani.*
B, C, D. The three *persin.*
E. The *idrkwoi.*
F. The lamp.
G. The *pelkkatitthwaskal.*
H. The *tòraitthwaskal.*
I. The *patun.*
J, K. The *pohvelkars.*
L. The screen in front of the dairy.

FIG. 26.—SHOWING THE GENERAL PLAN OF THE TI DAIRY.

I did not discover whether there were any differences between the internal arrangements of the conical dairies and those of the dairies of the ordinary form. Breeks has given a description of the conical dairy at Anto, and from this it would seem that the dairy is divided into two rooms by a

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partition extending to the roof, the two rooms communicating by a door. There are two possibilities as to procedure. It is possible that only one room of this dairy is used for the ceremonial and that it is again divided by an incomplete screen into inner and outer rooms, or it may be that the dairyman churns in the inner room. I have no information on this point, but the general nature of the churning procedure at the *ti* dairy makes it highly probable that the former supposition is correct and that the inner room is divided into two parts.

In the plan on p. 87, I have adopted the arrangement in which the *patun*, or screen, is attached to the left-hand side of the building, but this is certainly not the case in all diaries. In some dairies also the fireplaces are on the other side.

THE CONTENTS OF THE POH

(*a*) In the inner room.	One *mani.*	
	Three *persin.*	
	Two *tòrsum.*	
	Two *kòghlag.*	
	One *persinkudriki.*	
	One *pohvet* or *pohpet.*	
	One *kwoi.*	
	One *kwoinörtpet.*	
	Several *tedshk.*	
(*b*) Between inner and outer rooms.	*Pelk*, or lamp.	
	Idrkwoi.	
(*c*) In the outer room.	Two fireplaces	*Pelkkatitthkwaskal.* *Tòratthwaskal.*
	Several *alug.*	
	Uppun.	
	Mòrkudriki.	
	Karpun.	
	Turavali.	
	Guduboi.	
	Unused *kòghlag.*	

Another vessel, the *mòrpun*, is kept in the sleeping-hut, where two or more horns are also kept which are blown by the *kaltmokh* every night before going to rest.

The things of the inner room correspond in general to those of the *patatmar* in the ordinary dairy, and the things of the outer room correspond to those of the *ertatmar*. The

234 things of the outer room are sometimes called the *alugpur*,
343 just as those in the village dairy are called *ertatpur*, but I
352 did not hear of any corresponding term for the things of the
inner room. I have no record of the place where the fire-sticks (*nirsi*) are kept, but they will almost certainly belong to the outer room, since, in the village, they belong to the *ertatmar*.

234 The nature of each of the vessels and other objects of the
412 dairy[1] is as follows:

415 *Persin*. This is an earthenware vessel containing about five *kudi*, *i.e.*, 2½ gallons. The freshly churned milk is poured into and churned in three of these vessels. The *persin* corresponds to the *patat* of the village dairy.

Tòrzum. This is an earthenware vessel containing two or three *kudi*. Two of these vessels are kept in the inner room, one, called the *karitòrzum*, to hold water, and the other to hold the butter added while churning. The latter is called the *peptòrzum* because it is also used to give butter-milk to the buffaloes on certain occasions. When not in use the two *tòrzum* are placed on and act as covers for two of the *persin*. The *tòrzum* corresponds to the *mu* of the ordinary dairy.

Kòghlag. This is the churning-stick which corresponds to the *madth*. Both *kòghlag* and *madth* are alike in having the peculiar shape shown in Fig. 18 (see also p. 111). The thong by means of which the stick is turned, ordinarily called *palv*, is here called *poinurs*, and consists of a strip of the skin of a male calf. The *kòghlag* is made by the *palol* from bamboo growing on the Nilgiris. In addition to two used and kept in the inner room, five or six new churning-sticks are kept in the outer room.

Persinkudriki. This is a small piece of bamboo with a handle called *tutth*, used to knock against the *persin* when praying.

Pohvet (*pokpet*). A wand used when praying.

Kwoi. A bamboo vessel containing about three *kudi*. It is the vessel taken out by the *palol* to milk the buffaloes. It corresponds to the *irkartpun* of the village dairy and is made by the *palol* from bamboo obtained by the *kaltmokh*.

[1] [The Poh.. Analyst]

234 *Kwoinörtpet.* A wand carried by the *palol* with the *kwoi*
412 and used to keep away the calves when milking.
415 *Tedshk.* Rattan rings used when carrying the dairy
vessels.

Idrkwoi. A bamboo vessel containing about one *kudi.* It is used to transfer butter and buttermilk from the vessels of the inner room to the vessels of the outer room, and is kept midway between the two rooms. There is nothing corresponding to it in the village dairy, except at the *kugvali,* where the *kuvun* is used in the same way.

Alug. Earthenware vessels used as receptacles for buttermilk and butter in the outer room. There are at least two of these vessels, usually more. This vessel corresponds to the *pariv* of the village dairy.

Uppun. A bamboo vessel which is used to hold the buttermilk which the *palol* drinks.

Mòrkudriki. A vessel used like a ladle to transfer buttermilk from the *alug* to the *uppun* or the *mòrpun.* It corresponds to the *majertkudriki* or *ashkkiok* of the ordinary dairy.

Karpun. A bamboo vessel used to milk the *punir,* or ordinary buffaloes of the *ti* herds.

Turavali. The cooking-pot of which the ordinary name is *tòratthadi.*

Guduboi. An earthenware pot to hold *nei* or ghi. Its ordinary name is *pathrs.*

The *mòrpun,* kept in the sleeping-hut, is a bamboo vessel used by the *kaltmokh* to hold buttermilk both for himself and for certain privileged visitors called *mòrol.*

177 The earthenware vessels of the inner room are not obtained
415 from the Kotas, like the ordinary vessels, but are made by
437 Hindus, and are procured through the Badagas.

234 The *palol* has two garments, one of which, the *kubuntuni,*
he wears when not engaged in dairy-work, while the other,
292 the *pòdrshtuni,* is worn during the dairy-work or other ceremonial. The latter is kept in the outer room when not in use.

234 There are usually two kinds of bell at the *ti,* one kind con-
778 nected with the more sacred buffaloes and another belonging to the *punir.* The bells of the first kind, called *mani,* are

kept in the inner room, and are tied on the necks of certain 234
buffaloes for a short time on special occasions. The other 778
bells, called *kudrs mani*, are kept outside the door of the dairy and are put on the necks of the *punir* on the same occasions.

There were several points of interest about the lamps used 234
to light the dairies. At one time it seems that every *palol* 354
was provided with an iron lamp with a number of cavities, each cavity being fitted with a wick. These lamps are reputed to have been as old as the foundation of the *ti* dairies. One of the lamps which is still in existence at the Nòdrs *ti* (that of the *warspoh*) is said to have been brought from Amnòdr. There is some doubt about the exact number of cavities and wicks in these lamps, but in the existing lamp of the Nòdrs *ti* there seems to be little doubt that there are seven cavities and wicks, and the lamp is called *önavpelk*, "the lamp of the seven holes." All the seven wicks are only lighted on special occasions (*ponnol*), and on most days only one is
used. At some dairies these iron lamps have been long lost, [314]
and in these cases the *palol* used to make lamps of the bark of the *tudr* tree. According to Marshall (p. 141), these lamps have five wicks, and this appears to be still the case at the Kars *ti*, where there were formerly two iron lamps, one with five cavities and one with four, and in the lamp now used at this *ti* they still keep up the use of five wicks on special occasions, using only two on ordinary days. It is possible that Marshall derived his information from a man who had been *palol* at this *ti*. At one of the dairies of the Pan *ti* there is an old iron lamp with seven cavities, and at the other, where
a bark lamp is used, it has three wicks. At the present time [177]
the dairymen rarely trouble to make bark lamps, but are content with earthenware lamps procured from the bazaar. If these are broken and cannot be replaced at once, bark lamps are used during the interval. The wicks of the lamps, for whichever lamp they may be used, are always made of *tuni* taken from the garments worn by the *palol*, and the substance used in the lamps is butter.

Of the two fireplaces in the outer room, the *tòratthwaskal* is used for ordinary purposes, for cooking food, &c. The

● 234 354 other, called *pelkkatitthwaskal*, or sometimes *persinkaftthwaskal*, is used for lighting the lamp or for any other purpose directly connected with the vessels of the inner room.

THE DAILY LIFE AT THE TI

234 512 788 793 The inhabitants of the *ti* rise before it is light, probably about five a.m., and on getting up from the bed some say "*ekirzam meidjam.*"[1] The *kaltmokh* goes at once to open the *tu* in which the buffaloes have been penned for the night. The *palol* salutes with hand to forehead when he leaves the sleeping-hut and goes to the front of the dairy, where there is water standing in a bamboo vessel called *papun*, corresponding to the *kepun* of the village dairy. He washes his hands and face, and then washes out his mouth by taking up water with his right hand, pouring into his left, and taking the water into his mouth from the latter. It is noticeable that the *palol* uses his left hand for this purpose of personal cleanliness, and not the right hand, which is chiefly used in his sacred work. He then ties up his straggling hair at the back of his head, bows down at the threshold of his dairy and enters, in some cases saying "*ekirzam meidjam*" as he does so.

When the *palol* enters the outer room of the dairy, he transfers fire from the *tòratthwaskal*, where it has been burning all night, to the other fireplace, the *pelkkatitthwaskal*, and then takes off the *kubuntuni*, which has been his covering during the night and puts the *pòdrshtuni* round his loins. He lights the lamp by means of three pieces of wood of the kind called *kid*, taken from the *pelkkatitthwaskal*, and while so doing begins to pray, using the prayer of the *ti*. After lighting the lamp, and while still continuing to pray, he takes up the *persinkudriki* and knocks with it on the middle of the three vessels called *persin*, going from one *persin* to another, when he pauses to take breath. I had the greatest difficulty in finding out exactly what happened in connexion with this

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[1] These are the *kwarzam*, or prayer names (see Chapter X) of Teikirzi and Tirshti. They were used by Naburs (64) who had been *palol* at the I'an *ti*, but it is doubtful whether their use or the use of any other *kwarzam* on these occasions is an established custom.

234 prayer, but after I had settled on the foregoing description as
512 correct I was allowed one day by the *kaltmokh* to go near
the dairy while the *palol* was praying, and was able to hear
788 the beating on the earthenware vessel with each word of the
793 prayer.

The next step is to take up the *pohvet* and place it against the wall, and then the *palol* begins to churn the coagulated milk in the middle *persin*, milk in this state being here called *kudabpol* instead of *adrpars*, as in the ordinary dairy.

In those cases in which the *mani* is 'fed,' the *palol* puts *kudabpol* on the bell shortly after beginning to churn. This is done three times, the syllable *On* being uttered each time. When the *palol* does anything three times in this way, he says that he does it *mushtiu*. This expression for 'thrice' is not used in the ordinary dairy.

The next steps are to pour into the *kwoi* and *karitòrzum* most of the coagulated milk which has been broken up by the churning, to add to the milk remaining in the *persin* some *persinpen*, or butter especially kept for the purpose in the *peptòrzum*, to add water, and to churn the mixture of coagulated milk, water, and butter in the middle *persin*. When the new butter is formed, the *palol* pours out the buttermilk into the vessel called *idrkwoi*, keeping back the butter with his hand. The buttermilk is transferred from the *idrkwoi* to one of the *alug* in the outer room. Some of the milk which had been put into the *kwoi* or *karitòrzum* is then poured back into the middle *persin*, more water is added, and the mixture is churned, after which the buttermilk is again transferred by means of the *idrkwoi* to the *alug*, while the butter is kept in the *persin*. This procedure is repeated till all the milk of the middle *persin* has been churned.

The *persin* on the right-hand side of the *palol* is then taken, and its position exchanged with that of the vessel hitherto used, and the churning is continued in exactly the same manner. The buttermilk is transferred to the *alug*, but the butter when formed is transferred to the *persin*, which had been originally in the middle. When the contents of the second *persin* have been churned, the third *persin* is placed in the middle and the same procedure is followed, so that when

234 the churning is over all the butter which has been formed will
512 be in the *persin* which was originally in the middle. Some
788 of this butter is put into the *peptòrzum* to act as *persinpen* on
793 another occasion, and the remainder is transferred to the
butter *alug* by means of the *idrkwoi*. The two *tòrzum* are then put on the tops of two of the *persin* as covers, the *peptòrzum* being placed on the middle *persin* and the *palol* takes the milking-vessel (*kwoi*) and wand (*kwoinörtpet*) in his right hand and goes out to milk, having first put some buttermilk, called *pep*, into the *kwoi*.

When the *palol* leaves the dairy, he raises the milking-vessel and wand to his forehead and salutes in the way shown in Fig. 27. The Todas say that he is saluting the sun and the buffaloes. It is probable that, in general, the *palol* faces approximately east as he salutes, but there is no doubt that, at the present time, his salutation is chiefly to the buffaloes. He salutes in the same direction both morning and evening, and certainly pays no attention to the direction in which the sun lies.

This salutation is now often done in a very perfunctory manner. The vessel and wand may be raised hastily to the forehead for a few seconds only as the *palol* goes towards his buffaloes, and I am doubtful whether the salutation is ever performed exactly as shown in the figure, for the vessel contains some of the buttermilk called *pep*, which might be spilt if the vessel were held quite horizontally.

When the *palol* salutes, he says "*On*" three times, and repeats two or three clauses of the dairy prayer, usually the *kwarzam* of the more important gods of the dairy.

When going to milk and when going from one buffalo to another, the *kwoi* and *kwoinörtpet* are always held together in the right hand. When the *kwoi* is filled, it is taken into the dairy. If it is the custom of the dairy to put milk on the *mani*, this is now done three times, saying "*On*" each time, and then the milk is poured into the middle *persin*, the *kwoi* being held in the left hand, and the *palol* goes out again to refill the *kwoi*. When all the *persinir* have been milked, the milk of the three *persin* is mixed together by pouring from one to the other. The reason for this is that the buttermilk, called *pep*,

234 is only taken out in the *kwoi* on first going to milk, and
512 in consequence the *pep* would affect the milk of the middle
788 *persin* only if its contents were not mixed with those of the
vessels filled later.

793 The *palol* next goes out to milk the *punir*, taking for this

FIG. 27.—THE 'PALOL,' KARKIEVAN, SALUTING AT MÒDR. HE IS STANDING IN THE 'PEPKARMUS.' THE BUILDING NEXT TO THE 'PALOL' IS THE 'TI POH'; THAT ON THE RIGHT IS THE 'KARENPOH,' AND BETWEEN IT AND THE 'TI POH' CAN BE SEEN THE HUT WHERE THE INHABITANTS OF THE 'TI MAD' SLEEP.

purpose the vessel called *karpun* and an ordinary wand, the *kwoi* and *kwoinörtpet* being only used for the more sacred buffaloes. There was some difference of opinion as to what should be done with the milk of the *punir*. According to

234 some it may be used to fill the *persin* if these are not filled
512 by the milk of the *persinir*; according to others it is wrong
to do this, and the milk of *punir* should on no account be put
788 in the more sacred vessels of the inner room. I think there
793 is no doubt that at the Nòdrs *ti* at any rate the first procedure is followed. At this *ti* the *punir* outnumber the *persinir* by far, and it is probable that the milk of the former is used to supplement that of the more sacred buffaloes, although it is contrary to tradition that this should be done.

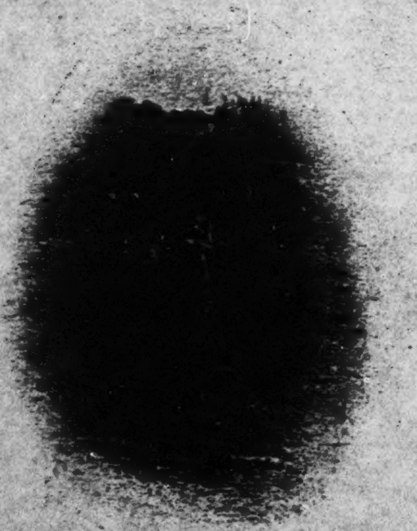

FIG. 28.—TO SHOW THE ATTITUDE ADOPTED BY THE 'PALOL' WHEN PRAYING.

The three *persin* being filled, the *tòrzum* are again put on as covers, and the *palol* takes up the wand called *pohvet*, and prays, standing in front of the screen (*patun*) with his hands lying over one another crosswise on the top of the stick as shown in Fig. 28. He recites the full prayer of the *ti*, then replaces the *pohvet* between the *persin* and the *patun* and this act of replacing the wand marks the end of the more sacred part of the dairy operations. If a Toda wishes to ascertain if the work of the dairy is over, he asks, "Has he taken the *pohvet*?"

The *palol* now unties his hair, sees to anything necessary in connexion with his food, fills the *uppun* with buttermilk, and then leaves his dairy and goes to sit on the seat called *pohvelkars* on one side of the door of the dairy, viz., on the opposite side to that on which the *mani* is placed. At Mòdr he sits on the stone on the right side of the door when going

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in (K in Fig. 26), and the fact that he does so is one of the reasons which make it probable that the arrangement of the *pok* of that place is as I have given it in the plan.

When the *palol* has seated himself on the *pohvelkars*, he calls out to the *kaltmokh* "*Kaizhvatitva*," "Come here and pour buttermilk!" When the *kaltmokh* comes, the *palol* gives the *uppun* to the boy, who says three times "*Kaizhvatkina*," "Shall I pour buttermilk?" and the *palol* replies each time, "*Vat*!" The *kaltmokh* pours from the *uppun* into a cup made of the leaf called *kakuders* held by the *palol*, who drinks after raising to his forehead. This is repeated till the *palol* is satisfied, when the leaf-cup from which he has been drinking is thrown away,[1] and he goes again into the outer room to get food. He gives food to the *kaltmokh*, who eats it in the sleeping-hut, while the *palol* himself eats sitting on the *pohvelkars*. If any *mòrol* (see p. 107) are present, they are fed at this stage with buttermilk and food by the *kaltmokh*, who gives them the buttermilk out of the *mòrpun*, pouring it into leaf-cups as when giving to the *palol*.

The rest of the morning is passed in looking after the buffaloes, cutting firewood, plucking leaves used as cups and plates, or doing any other work connected with the *ti*.

In the afternoon the *palol* returns to his dairy and goes through the same operations as in the morning, except that he fetches water from the *kwoinir* early in the proceedings, usually bringing enough for the work of that afternoon and of the next morning. He churns the milk drawn in the morning, and when the time for milking has arrived, the buffaloes will have returned to the milking-place, and as soon as they arrive their calves are let out from the house (*karanpoh*) in which they have been kept.

When the churning and milking are over, the buffaloes are shut up in the *tu* for the night. The *palol* then takes buttermilk as in the morning, and both he and the *kaltmokh* take their food. The latter eats his food in the sleeping-hut as in

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[1] In the story of Kwoto and the Keradr *ti* (Chap. IX) the *kaltmokh* has to pour away buttermilk at an appointed spot. It is probable that this buttermilk is that unfinished by the *palol*, and possibly this custom is still followed but was not mentioned by my informants.

234 512 788 793 the morning, and the *palol* does not enter till the boy has finished. As the *palol* enters, the *kaltmokh* says "*On*" thrice, takes the horn or horns, and standing at the door blows three times (if there are two horns, three times on each horn), and then re-enters the hut and all go to rest.

In the afternoon the *palol* prays three times; when lighting the lamp, and after milking and filling the three *persin* as in the morning, and again after shutting up the buffaloes in the *tu* for the night, when he stands in front of the entrance to the pen. In each case he uses the whole of the ordinary prayer of the dairy. He also utters a few clauses of the prayer when going out to milk. These prayers will be given in Chap. X.

THE PALOL

184 234 463 793 The *palol*, who must belong to the Teivaliol, is chosen by the members of the Tarthar clan to which the *ti* belongs. He may hold office for as long as he pleases up to eighteen years, and, according to some accounts, he might continue in office even after this period, though there is no case known in which this has happened.

The usual duration of office seems now to be only two or three years, though a man may often be reappointed either to the same or another *ti*. At the time of my visit, one *palol* had been continuously in office for sixteen years, another for six years, and the rest for shorter periods. At the present time the office of *palol* is vacant at several dairies owing to the difficulty of obtaining qualified occupants.

437 793 During the whole time he holds office, the *palol* may not visit his home or any other ordinary village, though he may visit another *ti* village. Any business with the outside world is done either through the *kaltmokh* or with people who come to visit him at the *ti*. All business with the Badagas is transacted through a special man of this caste 784 793 called the *tikelfmav*. If the *palol* has to cross a river, he may not pass by a bridge, but must use a ford; and it appears that he may only use certain fords; thus it is easy to cross the Paikara river just above the bridge, but the *palol* of the Nòdrs

ti was not allowed to do so and had to use a ford nearer to the 784
dairy at Mòdr. 793

The *palol* must be celibate, and if married, he must leave his 785
wife, who is in most cases also the wife of his brother or
brothers. According to the account given by Finicio in 1603, 833
the *palol* could send for his wife and meet her in a wood every week or so and might also send for the wives of any other Todas. It is possible that this may still happen, but I failed to obtain an account of it and understood that the *palol* was really celibate. According to Finicio the restriction to which the *palol* is subject is that he may not touch a woman in the house. We have seen that in the lowest rank of the dairyman-priesthood intercourse with women in the house is allowed at any time and in the higher ranks only on certain days of the week. It is quite consistent with this that in the highest rank intercourse in the house should be altogether forbidden, but might still be allowed in the forest, and it is quite possible that Finicio is correct. I was unacquainted with his account at the time of my visit, and all other writers had been so unanimous as to the complete celibacy of the *palol* that I did not press my inquiries on this point very closely.

If a death occurs in the clan of a *palol*, he cannot attend 234
any of the funeral ceremonies unless he gives up his office. If 463
he resigns he is not again eligible for the office till the second 784
funeral ceremonies have been completed. When a man of 793
one clan gives up his office in this way, his place must be taken by a man of some other clan. Karkievan of Piedr was *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti* eighteen years ago and resigned when his wife died, his place being taken by Tulchievan of Kusharf. Two years later Karkievan resumed office and has been *palol* continuously since that time. Though there have been many deaths among the Piedrol, he has not attended a funeral, and has not, therefore, had to resign his post again.

In old times, it seems probable that it was usual to give up the office of *palol* when there was a death in the clan. According to tradition, the division of the Keadrol into the Keadrol and Kwaradrol by Kwoten (see Chap. IX) was ordained in order that there might still be men to undertake the office of *palol* when there was a death in the clan, the men of the

234 Keadrol taking office when there was a death among the
463 Kwaradrol and *vice versa*.

It has been stated by several writers on the Todas that the
556 *palol* does not profit in any way by his sacred office. I made
784 most careful inquiries on this point, and there seemed to be no
793 doubt that the *palol* may often make a considerable income
from the sale of the ghi made from the milk of the herd under his charge; one *palol* was stated to make six rupees a week in this way, and while he has been in office is said to have increased his own herd (*i.e.*, that of his own family) by no less than twenty-five buffaloes. In one recent case, a man has resigned the post of *palol* to the Pan *ti* because he found the income was too small.

234 According to my informant, Kaners, a man used always to
463 accept the office of *palol* unwillingly. When the offer came
to him, he would say, "I cannot leave my buffaloes; I cannot
554 leave my wife and my children." Then the people would say,
556 "You are born for the *ti*; it is your birthright; you must not
793 refuse"; and the man would reluctantly consent. Now the
Todas are in more need of money than they used to be, and there is no difficulty in obtaining candidates for those dairies at which the pecuniary advantages are sufficiently great, so that people will now beg to be appointed as *palol* to certain dairies, and it is even whispered that bribes have been offered in order to obtain office. There is no doubt whatever that the pecuniary reward is the chief inducement to people to undertake the charge.

234 The Nòdrs *ti* has the largest herd of buffaloes, and I was
told that this *ti* is very much coveted, while others which
463 have few buffaloes are unable to obtain a *palol* at all. My
554 Teivali friends invariably talked about the *ti* in exactly the
793 same kind of way that an Englishman talks about a benefice.

At the present time there are several instances in which the office of *palol* is vacant, and there seems to be a growing difficulty in filling many of these places. There is little doubt that the chief reason for this is that the herds have become very small, so that the resulting profit does not offer sufficient inducement; but there is also no doubt that the exclusion from the home and the limitation of intercourse

with the world in general act as deterrents to those who are 234
thinking of becoming candidates for the vacant places. 463

Another point about which several writers have erred is
in supposing that the *palol* is important in the general govern- 554
ment of the Todas and in stating that the Todas go to him
for counsel and advice. 793 I inquired into this very carefully, and there seemed to be no doubt whatever that the *palol* has absolutely no functions outside the management of his dairy and of ceremonies connected with it. He has no place on the *naim*, or council, and only appears before it as defendant or witness in matters connected with the *ti*. I could not ascertain that any one ever consults the *palol* on any business except that of the *ti*, and outside his office he has nothing whatever to do, and is little thought of by the Todas. The sanctity attaching to the *palol* and the reverence paid to him are attached and paid wholly to the holder of the office and not at all to the man.

The ordinary Toda may only approach the *palol* on two 554
days of the week, Monday and Thursday. On other days, if 558
he wishes to communicate, he must stand a considerable
distance from the *ti*—it was said as much as a quarter of 778
a mile—and carry on his conversation from this distance. I 783
had, however, the opportunity of observing that the distance
was diminished on some occasions. 793

On no account may a *palol* ever be touched by an ordinary person. A *palol* becomes himself an ordinary person, or *perol*, if either he or his dairy should be touched by any unconsecrated person. Recently Nòdrners (67) lost the office of *palol* to the *warsir* at the Nòdrs *ti*, because a Tamil man went to his dairy while he was out looking after his buffaloes; he was soon reappointed, but to another *ti*.

The Toda who approaches the *palol* must go *kevenarut*, *i.e.*, 793
with his right arm out of the cloak, and there is a definite 576
form of salutation which is different for Tartharol and Teivaliol. When one of the former approaches, the *palol* says "*Bañ*," and the Tarthar man replies "*Ir kaûdâ*," literally "Buffalo, calf, have you?" To one of the Kuudrol, the chief Teivali clan, the *palol* says the *kwarzam*, or sacred name of Kuudr, followed by the word *idith*, *i.e.*, he utters the words *Ivikanmokh*

786 wood completely naked till sunset, when he dresses and returns
793 to the neighbourhood of his dairy, but remains in an adjoining
wood till midnight. He then bathes in a stream and going
833 to the dairy calls "*Kaltmokhia!*" twice. The *kaltmokh* comes out of the sleeping hut and brings a stone resembling the *pohvelkars*, on which the *palol* sits, and the *kaltmokh* pours buttermilk (*kaizhvatiti*) for the *palol* according to the customary ritual. Then the *kaltmokh* brings the *papun*, and the *palol* washes his hands and goes to rest. There was some difference of opinion among the Todas as to whether the *palol* would continue to hold office after this ceremony. He undoubtedly returns to his work, but it seemed probable that he would retire after a short time and his place be taken by another. In this ceremony the celibate priest after eighteen years of office has intercourse with a woman belonging to the division not his own. This takes place in the day-time, the *palol* thus committing an act which is ordinarily regarded by the Todas as immoral.[1]

The last occasion on which this ceremony was performed was when it was done by Kodrizbon, who lived before the time of the grandfather of Kaners, who is himself an old man. Kàrkievan has now been *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti* for sixteen years, and there was already at the time of my visit much talk among the Todas about the ceremony which he might be expected to perform two years later.

184 A man who has given up the office of *palol* is known as *patol*.
554 It was quite clear that, on resigning office, he entirely lost his
sanctity, and it did not seem that he derived any great social
793 importance from having held the sacred office. I could find
234 no instance of a man who had been *palol* having any special influence or power either in his clan or among the Todas generally. Only in one way are the *patol* important, and that is as repositories of the knowledge of the dairy ritual, and any man about to enter on the office of *palol* will learn the details of the ritual from those who have held office before him.

I could learn of one privilege only pertaining to a *patol*.

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[1] It is possible that Finicio was told of this custom, and that his statement about the relations of the *palol* to women only refer to this ceremony.

He is allowed to go to the *ti mad* on the day called *upkarvnol*, 184
after the *ponup* ceremony (see Chap. VIII), and on that 554
occasion he receives food from the *palol*. 793

THE KALTMOKH

The *kaltmokh* is usually a boy, but he may occasionally 234
continue to hold office till he is about twenty years of age. 793
He must belong either to the Teivaliol or to the Melgarsol.
He is a general assistant to the *palol*, and has also certain 463
definitely assigned duties, such as giving buttermilk to the
palol and blowing the horns at night. He also takes part in
several important ceremonies.

When away from the dairy and its immediate surroundings 292
he wears an ordinary cloak, but always with his right arm 784
outside. When engaged in his work at the dairy or in the 788
pül of the *ti*, he must be naked except for the *kuvn*. When 793
he has been away from the *ti* he may not return by the path
used by the *palol*, but must use a special path, carrying the
cloak folded and hung over his shoulder. At the Mòdr
dairy, however, I noticed that the *kaltmokh* sometimes kept
his cloak in a tree just outside the *ti mad*, and then went in
and out by the same path as the *palol*.

The *kaltmokh* sleeps in the same hut as the *palol*, from whom he receives his food. When there are two *palol* and only one *kaltmokh*, the two dairymen divide the duty of feeding the boy between them.

The *kaltmokh* never goes into the dairy, but he may put his hand into the outer room to take out those vessels which he is allowed to touch. He may never touch the vessels of the inner room.

There are two grades in the office of *kaltmokh*, a lower 234
called *perkursol* and a higher called *tunitusthkaltmokh* or full 554
kaltmokh. The latter wears a piece of *tuni* called *petuni* on 558
the left side of the string (*kerk*) supporting the perineal
cloth. 784

The *perkursol* is allowed to go to certain places and do 793
certain things which are not allowed to the full *kaltmokh*.
Whenever it is necessary that the *kaltmokh* should do any of

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the forbidden things, or even if he is likely to be in such a position that he may have to do these things, he becomes *perkursol*. This he does by throwing off the *petuni* and dipping one leg either into the pool of water called *tarupunkudi* (see p. 177) or into the dairy stream (*pali nipa*) of an ordinary dairy (if he dipped his leg into the *ars nipa*, or part of a stream used for ordinary household purposes, he would at once lose his office entirely and become an ordinary person). As soon as he has dipped his foot, he becomes *perkursol* and may do the following things summed up in the general expression *tarskwarârkûdthodi*. He may pass a village where there is a woman in the seclusion-hut (*puzhars*), or where the relics of the dead are being kept between the two funeral ceremonies; he may go to a place where the people have been in communication with a village in which either of these conditions exist; he may pass a river by a bridge, and he may go to the *wursuli* of a Tarthar village. If the full *kaltmokh* does any of these things, even unwittingly, he would at once become an ordinary person (*perol*). The *kaltmokh* degrades himself to the rank of *perkursol* even when there is merely the danger that he may infringe any of the restrictions; thus, one day when there was a woman at Karia who was in seclusion after childbirth, the *kaltmokh* at Mòdr, Katsog (55), was going to the hut of the forest guard near Paikara. He would not have to pass Karia, but there was a chance that the forest guard might have been in communication with the people of Karia, and therefore Katsog became *perkursol*. A *perkursol* is regarded as of the same rank as a *wursol*, and the people spoke of *perkursol* as a *ti* word for *wursol*—*i.e.*, a *wursol* at the *ti* was called *perkursol*, just as a *madth* (churn) at the *ti* was called *kòghlag*. In order to regain his rank as full *kaltmokh*, the *perkursol* has to perform the same ceremony as that which takes place at the end of the ordination to this office (see Chap. VII).

While the *kaltmokh* is degraded to the rank of *perkursol* he may not touch any dairy vessels; he may not pour buttermilk for the *palol*, nor may he blow the horns—*i.e.*, he may do none of the more important and sacred duties of his office.

THE MÒROL

I have said that no ordinary Toda is allowed to approach 184
the *palol* except on certain days, and then may only go to a 618
certain place in the surroundings of the *ti*. There is, how-
ever, one very remarkable exception to this rule, the members 554
of certain clans having the privilege of going to the *ti* at any 234 ●
time and taking buttermilk (*mòr*). Owing to the latter
privilege they are always known as *mòrol*.

The most important *mòrol* are the members of the Melgars clan, and at the Nòdrs *ti* they are the only people possessing these peculiar rights. A Melgars man may go to the *ti* on every day of the week, when he enters the small enclosure in which the dairy is situated, going, however, by a special opening at the back so that he does not actually pass the dairy and sits down in front of or may enter the sleeping hut. He is given buttermilk by the *kaltmokh* after it has been given to the *palol*, and he also receives food. At the Nòdrs *ti* the two *palol* divide the responsibility of providing food between them; if four *mòrol* come, each *palol* gives food for two men.

The rights of the Melgarsol appear to be exercised very constantly. I rarely visited the Mòdr *ti* without finding several *mòrol* present, and so far as I could observe they made the most of their privileges and enjoyed themselves well. It was very remarkable to see several Todas making themselves quite at home at the *ti*, while other Todas were standing outside wholly prohibited from entering into the life of the place. On one occasion when I visited Mòdr, the brother of one *palol* was standing without at the appointed spot waiting till the business of the morning was over, while several *mòrol* were within enjoying their privileges to the full.

The Melgarsol have certain other rights and duties in connexion with the *ti*, and especially on the occasion of the procession which takes place when the buffaloes migrate from one place to another (see Chap. VI), after which ceremony the *mòrol* sleep at the *ti mad*. At some dairies members of other clans may act as *mòrol*, but in no case do they occupy quite so privileged a position as the people of Melgars. Thus, at

184 234 618 554 the Kars and the Pan *ti* the people of Kars are *mòrol*, but they may only visit the *ti* and take buttermilk and are not allowed to sleep there, nor have they any of the special ceremonial duties of the Melgarsol.

234 463 554 When the dairy of a *ti mad* needs to be repaired or rebuilt, this is done by Melgars men, who must previously undergo an ordination ceremony of the same character as that for the office of *wursol*, and the men rank as *wursol* while engaged [358] in the work. The hut of the *ti mad* is also repaired or rebuilt by the Melgarsol, but in this case the work is done without any special ceremony. In either case the Melgars men are not allowed to leave the *ti mad*, and they sleep in the living hut while the work is being done.

[764] Another duty of the Melgarsol is to assist in carrying the corpse of a *palol* who has died in office.

[123] On the occasion of the *teutütusthchi* ceremony in 1902, when the *palol* and *kaltmokh* left the dairy at Mòdr for several hours, I found a Melgars man in the neighbourhood of the dairy, and it seemed to me that he was watching the dairy while the regular guardians were away. I was told however, that this was not one of the recognised duties of a *mòrol*, and I suspected that he was stationed at Mòdr at the time of my visit, because it was feared that I might take advantage of the absence of the *palol* to make a closer inspection of the dairy than was allowed.

NEW DAIRY VESSELS

415 437 439 The earthenware vessels of the inner room (*persin* and *tòrzum*) are procured from Hindus through the Badagas. They were formerly obtained from a place called Kulpet (Kundapeta), near Nanjankudi in Mysore, and I was told that the Todas used to go down to fetch them.

The earthenware vessels of the outer room (*alug*) are obtained from the Kotas like those of the ordinary dairy. 234 314 The churn or *kòghlag* is made by the Todas themselves from the slender bamboo growing on the hills.

322 415 The material out of which the bamboo vessels (*kwoi*, *idrkwoi*, *karpun*, *uppun*) are made, is procured from a place

called Ebenput (?) near Musinigudi. When new vessels are required, and there is only one *kaltmokh*, a second is appointed, who goes to Ebenput, where he cuts bamboo called *kôli*, which is large enough for the dairy vessels. The bamboo is taken by the *kaltmokh* to the *ti*, and the new vessels are manufactured by the *palol*. 234 314 322 415

It is possible for the *kaltmokh* to go to Ebenput and back in one day, but if unable to do this he may stay the night at Taradr, the nearest *etudmad* to Musiṅigudi. The bamboo for the new vessels, however, must not be taken to Taradr, but must be left in a wood near the village, and taken on to the *ti mad* on the following day. 793

Any new vessels or implements must be purified before being used. The earthenware vessels of the inner room are taken from the Badagas who bring them, and are rubbed over, inside and out, with the bark of the *tudr* tree, after which the bark is put inside the vessel, water is poured in three times, saying "*Oñ*," and the contents rinsed round and poured out. Water is then put in the vessel, which is placed for a time on the fireplace to make it look old, the fireplace used being the *pelkkatitthwaskal*. The *kòghlag* or churning stick is purified by rubbing *tudr* bark over it and pouring water all over it three times. The churning stick and the earthenware vessels of the inner room are both purified in the outer room of the dairy, and the purification must be performed on a Sunday. 234 412 415 783

The *kwoi* is purified on the same day of the week in front of the buffalo enclosure or *tu*. After churning, the *palol* takes the new *kwoi*, and a *tòrsum* full of water, and purifies the former with *tudr* bark and water three times in the way already described. He then milks into the new *kwoi* for the first time, and on this occasion he must be careful not to fill the vessel completely.

The *idrkwoi* is purified in the same manner as the other vessels and also on a Sunday, but the purification is performed at the junction of the inner and outer rooms of the dairy.

New vessels and other objects belonging to the outer room are purified with the same procedure in their own room, but on a Tuesday or Wednesday.

234 The *kwoi* or milking vessel is the only vessel which is not
412 purified inside the dairy. With the exception of this vessel
415 all the other objects used in the dairy are purified in the
778 outer room or at the junction of the inner and outer rooms.

783 All old, broken or worn-out vessels or implements are thrown away except the *kwoi*, which must be buried in a wood near a dairy. Thus this vessel is treated unlike other contents of the dairy, both when being purified and when rejected as of no further use. I could obtain no explanation of this, and can only suggest that the exceptional treatment is due to the fact that it comes into actual contact with the sacred buffaloes.

THE FIVE TI

173 At present there are only five *ti* in existence, belonging to
234 the clans of Nòdrs, Kars, Pan, Kwòdroni, and Nidrsi. The
621 Keradrol are said to have had a *ti* at one time which was
773 spirited away by the god Kwoto (see Chap. IX) and the name of one of its places, Tïkïrs, is still preserved.

The most important *ti* belongs to Nòdrs and this is one of the original institutions, the *ti* of Kars and that of Kwòdrdoni being the others. The Pan *ti* is derived from that of Nòdrs (see story of Kwoten), and the Nidrsi *ti* is an offshoot of the Kwòdrdoni institution.

Of these five *ti*, that of Nòdrs is the only one which still has two *palol*. The Kars *ti* has only one *palol*, and similarly that of Pan. The *ti* of Kwòdrdoni and Nidrsi are at present unoccupied. At the Kwòdrdoni *ti* the office is filled once a year for a limited period in order to satisfy certain requirements of the Kotas.

No *ti* is allowed to be vacant when the final funeral ceremonies are performed for any member of the clan to which the *ti* belongs, and it is only on the occasion of these ceremonies that a *palol* is now appointed to the Nidrsi *ti*.

Each *ti* has certain features of organisation and procedure peculiar to itself. There are certain differences of ritual and differences in the names and kinds of the buffaloes and sacred objects. The history and special features of each *ti* will now be considered.

THE NÒDRS TI

The goddess Teikirzi lived at Nòdrs and was its ruler, and 173
Nòdrs was in consequence especially favoured when the 234
various buffaloes were distributed by this deity. When Püv
died and Ön went away to Amnòdr (see p. 185), the Nòdrs *ti* 773
and its buffaloes went with him. Teikirzi, who remained behind, found after a time that it was not good to rule a country without a *ti*, so she complained to Ön and asked him to send the buffaloes back. He consented and people were sent from Nòdrs to Amnòdr to fetch the buffaloes. Ön gave them the buffaloes and all the things of the *ti*, and he also gave a milking vessel and a churning stick made of gold. When the men started to bring back the buffaloes, they went some way and then found that they had forgotten the gold vessel and churn given to them by Ön. So they went back and asked Ön for the two things. Ön refused to give them up as they had not been taken at first, and it is believed that they are still in the dairy at Amnòdr.

Ön told the men who returned to ask for the things they [415]
had forgotten that the Todas were to make the vessel and churn of bamboo. They were to go to the hill called Teikhars or Kulinkars, where they would find a flower called *kavulpuv*, and he told them to make a new *kòghlag* of the same shape as that flower. They did so, and ever since that time the churning-stick both at the *ti* and at the ordinary village has been made so that it is like the flower *kavulpuv*.

Another incident which occurred during the journey of the 173
ti buffaloes back from Amnòdr was the birth of a *mani*. One 234
of the two *palol* was carrying the dairy vessels of the inner
room, and the other was carrying the *mani* called Keu. 773
When they were about half-way back to this world, the *palol* 778
who was carrying the dairy vessels found that they had become very heavy, so he put them down, and, taking off the *tòrzum* which was covering one of the *persin*, he found a bell in the milk of the *persin*. So they called the bell Persin because it was the son of a *persin*, and to this day the bell is fed with milk because it was born in milk. It is the *mani* which is kept in the *ti poh* of the Nòdrs *ti*, while the other

[772] *mani*, Keu, carried by the other *palol*, is kept in the *wars poh*
173 and this bell, Keu, is not fed with milk.

● 234 When the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* returned from Amnòdr,
773 they talked like men. One day when the *palol* told the *kaltmokh* to bring the calves, the buffaloes used bad language such as may not be uttered before women; they would not obey the *palol*, and refused to allow him to milk them. Then Teikirzi found that it was bad that buffaloes should have the tongues of men, and she dragged the tongues out of the mouths of the buffaloes and made them new tongues of *tudr* bark. The buffaloes could then talk no longer, and they allowed themselves to be milked.

173 Originally the Nòdrs *ti* had three places, or *ti mad*, given
221 to it by Teikirzi: Anto, Òdrtho, and Kulâdrtho. Later the
221 people made other *ti mad*, and at one time, in addition to
234 the three, they had the following places:—Mòdr, Kudreiil,
621 Majòdr, Mûkòdr, Tìdj, Pûth, and Pòos. Several of these are
773 now disused or have disappeared altogether, but are still mentioned in the prayer of the *ti*. Of the three original places, Kulâdrtho has disappeared and its place is occupied by the Prospect tea estate. The sites of Tìdj and Pûth are also occupied by tea estates. The way to Pòos has been blocked by a Kota village, so that the buffaloes would be unable to reach it without being defiled by going through the village, and, in consequence, this dairy is not used. Mukòdr is very close to another *ti mad*, probably Majòdr, and the *palol* "were lazy" and allowed it to fall into ruins. There is a conical dairy, now in ruins, near Makurti Peak, which belonged to the Nòdrs *ti*, and it is possible that this is the dairy of Mukòdr.

The herds now spend the greater part of the year at Mòdr, but still go in most years to Anto, Òdrtho, Kudreiil, and Majòdr at certain seasons.

The Nòdrs *ti* has two kinds of *persinir*, the *tiir* and the *warsir*, each of which has its own *palol*. There are also the *punir* for the special use of the *palol*. The *tiir* have three subdivisions, the *unir*, the *atir*, and the *teirtir*, so called because descended from certain buffalo ancestors, or *nòdrkutchi*, who were connected with Anto, Tìdj, and Teir. The *warsir*,

are divided into two groups, the *kulatir* and the *perithir*, so 173
called because their *nòdrkutchi* were connected with Kulâdrtho 221
and Perithi respectively. Teir is close to Mòdr, but does not 234
seem at any time to have been itself a *ti mad*, and I could
not ascertain why it should have given its name to one group 621
of the buffaloes. Perithi is near Gudalur, and in the prayer 773
of Anto (see p. 225), there is a reference to a *ti* dairy at this
place from which the buffaloes evidently took their name.

At most of the dairies the buffaloes stand together and the two *palol* occupy the same *ti mad*, though each has his own dairy; but when one herd, that of the *tiir*, goes to Òdrtho, the other herd, that of the *warsir*, goes to another place called Kudreiil. These two places are quite close to one another, but are regarded as separate *ti mad*. The reason given for this separation was that at one time the *warsir* did not behave properly at Òdrtho, and Teikirzi ordered that they should not stand there again, but should go to another place. I could not ascertain what the buffaloes did to merit this punishment.

I obtained a full account of the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* 234
at the time of my visit. There were seven *unir*; four adult 552
buffaloes, called Kôzi, Perith, Kâsimi, and Uf, and three
young buffaloes not yet named; five *atir*, Persuth, Enmars,
Tòthi, and two unnamed; three *teirtir*, Pülkoth, Köji, and
one unnamed. Of *kulatir* there were four, Köji, Keirev, and
two young buffaloes; of *perithir* five, Kâsimi, Kiûd, Persv,
and two unnamed. Thus the *ti palol* had fifteen *persinir*,
and in addition about thirty *punir*, while the *wars palol* had
nine *persinir* and about fifteen *punir*.

The dairy of the *tiir* is often called the *ti poh*, and that 234
of the *warsir*, the *wars poh*, and every dairy has also its 343
special name; thus, at Anto the dairy of the *tiir* is called 352
Medrpoh, and the dairy of the *warsir* is called Kadpoh or
Kadvoh. One of these dairies is of the conical form, but
my record does not tell me which. According to Breeks
the name of the conical dairy is Kiurzh. This is possibly
the same word as Kad(poh), the name of the dairy of the
warsir. The two dairies at Mòdr are Pänpoh and Känpoh.
The name of the ruined conical dairy near Makurti Peak

234 343 352 which belonged to the Nòdrs *ti* was Kateidipoh (Breeks, Katedva).

173 234 618 773 793 The *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti* must be chosen either from the people of Piedr or from those of Kusharf. Originally it was ordained that the *palol* should be chosen from the Piedrol, but later the Kuudr people obtained the right of becoming *palol*. This lasted till about seven or eight generations ago, when there is a story that the people of Kwurg (Coorg) came to fight the Todas and drove off the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti*, which were standing at Mòdr. The *palol* was touched by the Kwurg people and in consequence ceased to be *palol*, but instead of pursuing the invaders, he sat down by the *ti* waiting till he could be reinstated in his office. The *kaltmokh*, who belonged to Piedr, followed the Kwurg people, who had carried off a large *mani* called Kän, and some people of Nòdrs and Kusharf also followed with the boy. The Kwurg people saw the *kaltmokh* and told him that he might have the buffaloes back if he would give them as many rupees as Kän would hold. The *kaltmokh* had inside his loincloth a little gold coin called *pirpanm*, which he took out and put into Kän and immediately the bell became full of rupees and the gold coin fell out. The Kwurg people took the rupees, and the *kaltmokh* took the bell and drove the buffaloes back to Mòdr.

As the Kwurg people were making their way home, they suddenly found that all the rupees had disappeared, so they turned and pursued the *kaltmokh* and the buffaloes. Then the *kaltmokh* prayed:

Per wadrth vĕdrmȧ, kârs wadrth vĕdrmȧ, män mas vĕdrmȧ.

"May the high hills be broken, may the rocks be broken, may the trees fall down."

Directly there was a loud noise, the hills were divided, stones rattled, and trees fell down. Then the Kwurg people were afraid and returned to their own homes.[1] The Todas held a council, and it was decided that, as the *palol* had not

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[1] This legendary account probably preserves a tradition of a real invasion of the Nilgiri Hills by the people of Coorg. The Todas put the date of the occurrence at about seven or eight generations ago. In 1774 Linga Raja, with 3,000 Coorgs, invaded the Wainad and remained there for five years. During this time it is highly probable that the Coorgs would have explored the Nilgiri Hills. (See *Mysore and Coorg*, by Lewis Rice, Bangalore, 1878, vol. iii., p. 110.)

followed the buffaloes, the Kuudr people should no longer 173
have the privilege of becoming *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti*, and that 234
in future the *palol* of this *ti* should be taken either from 618
Piedr or Kusharf.

At the present time[1] the *palol* of the *tiir* is Karkievan of 773
Piedr, who has now been continuously in office for sixteen 793
years, having also had a previous period of office as *palol*.
The *palol* of the *warsir* is Nerponers of Kusharf (66), who had been in office for about a year at the time of my visit. The *kaltmokh* is Katsog of Kuudr (55).

Although now one *palol* belongs to Piedr and the other to Kusharf, it is not necessary that this should be so and it has happened frequently that both *palol* have belonged to the Piedrol.

The *mani* of the *tiir*, which is said to be made of iron, is 234
that called Persin, of whose miraculous birth an account has 552
been given. The *mani* of the *warsir* is called Keu, and is said 778
to be made partly of gold, partly of silver, and partly of iron.
Milk is put on the former bell by the *palol* at every churning and milking, but Keu is not 'fed.'

In addition there are four *mani* of the kind called *kudrs*, which are tied to the *punir* and kept outside the door of the dairy. Three of these belong to the *punir* of the *ti palol*, and are called Arvatz, Kiûdz, and Kerâni, and should be tied to buffaloes named Püthiov, Peires, and Nersâdr respectively. The fourth bell belongs to the *punir* of the *wars palol*, and is called Kerâni. It should be tied to a buffalo named Tâlg.

The lamp of the *wars poh* is one of those made of iron, 234
and is said to have come from Amnòdr. It is called 354
Önâvpelk, the lamp of the seven holes. The *ti poh* had a 552
similar lamp at one time, but it has been lost.

Three horns are kept in the sleeping-hut of the Nòdrs 773
ti. Two belong to the *tiir*, and are called Kiûdrkûdr and 778
Pudothkûdr. The third belongs to the *warsir*, and is called
Teigun. (For the origin of these horns see the story of Korateu or Kuzkarv in Chap. IX.)

One feature of the *ti poh* at Mòdr, which is certainly not

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[1] In 1902.

+ One feature of the ti poh at Mòdr, which is certainly not

234 351 general, is the presence of a screen in front of the door. The effect of this screen is to protect the *palol* from the gaze of the ordinary Todas when they are standing in their appointed place. When I visited Mòdr I was allowed to go into the enclosure where the buffaloes are milked, but this privilege was not accorded to my Toda guides, and in consequence I was often able to observe the doings of the *palol* when they were hidden from my guides by the screen.

234 343 351 The *wars poh*, on the other hand, has no such screen, but the wall surrounding this dairy is much higher than at the *ti poh* and effectually screens the *palol* from the public gaze. The door of the *wars poh* faces between north and north-east, and that of the *ti poh* south-east, but owing to the presence of the screen the *palol* has on coming out to turn to the left, and therefore faces north-east when saluting.

THE KARS TI

173 234 621 773 The following story gives the traditional origin of the *ti mad* at Makârs, one of the chief places of the Kars *ti*, but I could not ascertain definitely whether it was supposed to give the origin of the *ti* as a whole or only of the *ti mad* at Makârs. The story runs that Anto created buffaloes, one of which came to Makârs, where a *tudr* tree was standing. The buffalo rubbed against the tree and part of the bark came off, and that is why the place became a *ti*. When the buffalo found that there was no *palol* at Makârs and no *kaltmokh*, it was very angry and raged about furiously. While it was doing this, it jumped some stones and fell into the river called Kitheri, and it also jumped a stream called Warwar. In spite of its falling into the river, however, it did not die, but got out and pushed stones together with its horns so as to make a *tu*. Later a dairy was built near the *tudr* tree. Whether this was the origin of the *ti* or only of the *ti mad* of Makârs, it seemed quite clear that the Kars *ti* is believed to be one of the very early institutions of the Todas. Its two ancient places were Enòdr and Makârs. At each there were two dairies, and one

at least of those at Enòdr was of the conical variety and had 173
the special name of Medrpoh. Enòdr has now fallen into 234
disuse. It was a few miles to the north-east of Ootacamund, 621
and it was no longer visited because the buffaloes would 773
have had to pass through Ootacamund in going from Makârs to Enòdr and would have been defiled. Makârs, which is near the Nanjanad valley, is now the chief place of the *ti*, and the buffaloes were there at the time of my visit.

Another important and ancient place of the Kars *ti* is Kòn (Lingmand) in the Kundahs. In the story of Kwoto (see p. 204) the buffaloes were going to Enòdr from Kòn when the boy showed his miraculous knowledge of the buffalo *kwarsam*. Two other places are Nerâdr and Pars. Both Kòn and Nerâdr are still used, but Pars, which is not far from Ootacamund, is no longer used, having been given up because Badagas went to live near it.

As at the Nòdrs *ti*, there are two kinds of *persinir* in 234
addition to the *punir*. The two kinds are called *pürsir* 793
and *parsir*, the former being also sometimes called *enòdrir*. Although there are two kinds of sacred buffalo with their corresponding dairies, there has never been more than one *palol*. When a *palol* is appointed to this *ti*, he is ordained to the office of *palol* to the *parsir*, and, for the first month, he attends to these buffaloes only and enters their dairy, the *parspoh*, only. At the end of the month, he becomes *palol* to the *pürsir*, with certain ceremonies, to be described later, and from that time to the end of his period of office he works in the *pürspoh* only and never enters the *parspoh*, although he continues to attend to the *parsir* as well as to the *pürsir*. The milk of the *parsir* is mixed with that of the *pürsir* in the vessels of the dairy belonging to the latter kind of buffalo. This dairy, which is usually called *pürspoh* after the buffaloes, has also the special name of Kakanmudri.

There is one bell belonging to the *pürsir* which has three [552]
names, Perner, Uner, and Persagan, but it is also often called
Nez. Koboners told me that this bell is usually quite black, 234
but that he had once rubbed off the thick layer of soot and 778
dust with which it is covered and had found that it was made of gold. It seems to have been of a light colour and

234 778 may have been made of bronze. There is also a bell belonging to the *parsir* called Talg.

173 234 618 793 Formerly the *palol* of the Kars *ti* was chosen from the Melgarsol, but this clan lost the privilege owing to the misbehaviour of one of their number when holding the sacred office. The buffaloes were standing at Enòdr, and the Melgars *palol* was milking a buffalo, when he saw a honey-bee. He got up, left the buffalo, and went after the bee, leaving his milking-vessel behind. He followed the bee, found the nest, took the comb, ate some of the honey, gave the remainder to the *kaltmokh* to put in the hut, and then went back and continued to milk the buffalo, whose name was Kän. When he had finished milking, he was taking the milk into the dairy when a plank fell on his head and he was killed. Then it was decided that Melgars people should no longer be *palol*, and that the office in future should be filled from the Teivaliol. Whenever the Todas wish to refer to the fact that the Melgars people have lost the right of being *palol*, they say, "*Kän kârvûk kiûzthenis ûpi vûchi*," or, "Kän milking, bee he followed after."

The *palol* is now taken from Piedr, Kusharf or Kuudr, and the present holder of the office is Nòdrners (67) of Kusharf. The dairies of this *ti* are always near those of the Pan *ti*, and the two *palol* share one *kaltmokh* between them, the present holder of this office being Teitun (64) of Piedr.

THE PAN TI

173 234 621 773 793 The legend of the origin of this *ti* will be given in full in the story of Kwoten (Chap. IX). When this hero was reproved by his wife because the Pan people had no *ti*, he obtained buffaloes from the Nòdrs *ti*, so that the Pan *ti* appears to have been later in origin than those of Nòdrs and Kars, and to have been derived from the former.

Certain of the buffaloes are reputed to be descended from an ancestor made by Teikhars or Kulinkars (see the story of this god in Chap. IX).

The most important dairy of this *ti* appears to have been situated at Tarsòdr or Tazòdr in the Kundahs, which is the

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place to which the buffalo created by Teikhars found its way. Tarsòdr is about two miles from Kòn, and there is still a dairy of the conical kind at this place which is probably one of those mentioned by Breeks under the name of Tarzhva. Its special name was Pôhûjpoh or Pûverizpoh, and it belonged to the group of buffaloes of the *ti* called *tarsir*. It is now falling into ruins, having been disused for about twenty years. The last *palol* who went there was Pethovan (70) of the Kwaradr division of the Keadrol. He died at Tarsòdr soon after going there in perfect health from Kudòdr. His son, Kiudners, later became *palol* to the *tarsir*, but was afraid to go to Tarsòdr because his father had died there. Like his father, Kiudners died in office at Kudòdr, and the death of both father and son while holding the office of *palol* so alarmed the Todas that no one has been to the dairy of Tarsòdr since. I was told that the dairy had been given up because the gods of Tarsòdr were so severe, *i.e.*, it was assumed that both father and son had been killed by the gods for some infringement of dairy regulations. New dairies have since been built near Kòn, the seat of the Kars *ti* in the Kundahs.

The place at which the buffaloes were standing at the time of my visit was Kudòdr, near Makârs, and this is the *ti mad* which is occupied during the greater part of the year. Another dairy is at Nerâdr, again near the *ti mad* of the same name belonging to the Kars *ti*.

A fourth place, Uterâdr, is now rarely visited, since the buffaloes may only go there when there are two *palol*.

There seems to be a very close association between the *ti* institutions of Kars and Pan. The buffaloes of the two always move about together, and the dairies are so close to one another that, at present, they are able to share the same *kaltmokh*.

The Pan *ti* has two kinds of buffalo in addition to the *punir*, viz., the *tarsir* and the *warsir*. At one time the *warsir* belonged to one division of the Pan clan, called the Panol, and the *tarsir* belonged to the other division, the Kuirsiol. At Kòn there are two dairies, one for each kind of buffalo, and each kind should also have its own *palol*. At the present time there is only one *palol*, who looks after the *tarsir*.

173 234 618 The dairy of the *warsir*, or the *warspoh*, is closed and may not be entered by the *palol*, and he is not allowed to milk the *warsir*, though he may milk the *punir* belonging to the *warspoh*.

793 Formerly the *palol* of the *tarsir* was chosen from the Kwaradr division of the Keadrol and the *palol* of the *warsir* from the other division of this clan, this arrangement being said to have been ordained by Kwoten.

The Kwaradr division is now extinct and the remainder of the Keadrol are not very numerous, and the present *palol* of the *tarsir* is Peilet (64) of Piedr. A few years ago both dairies were occupied, the *palol* of the *tarsir* being Naburs (64) of Piedr, and the *palol* of the *warsir*, Pichievan (69) of Keadr. The latter is said to have thrown up his office because the income was not large enough.

[765] If there should be a death among the Panol, the second funeral ceremonies (the *marvainolkedr*, or so-called 'dry funeral') could not take place unless both dairies were occupied. Since Pichievan resigned, no Pan man has died, but when this happens a second *palol* would have to be appointed before the *marvainolkedr* could be held.

234 354 778 463 The *tarsir* have two bells, called Kòsi and Pongg. The former is tied on a buffalo called Kòsi, and Pongg on one called Enmars. Milk is only put on the bell called Kòsi. At the dairy of these buffaloes there is an iron lamp of the ancient kind with seven cavities and seven wicks, and the horn is called Kwatadr. The *warsir* have one bell, called Keituzan, which is put round the neck of a buffalo called Kòjiu. The old iron lamp belonging to these buffaloes has been lost and an earthenware or bark lamp is used in its stead. The horn is called Persagan, but as these buffaloes have no *palol*, this horn is not now blown.

The people of Pan are *mòrol* at this *ti*.

THE KWÒDRDONI TI

234 173 773 There was some difference of opinion as to the origin of this *ti*, which is often called the Arsaiir *ti* by the Todas. According to one account, given to me by Kwòdrdoni people,

the buffaloes called *arsaiir* came from the sea and were the 173
mothers of all the *tiir*. Another account, which seemed to be 234
more generally accepted, was that the Kwòdrdoni *ti* was
instituted by Ön, like those of Nòdrs and Kars, but that 773
one day, when the *palol* was milking, the *mani*, called
Pushodipongg, came from the sea and sat on the side of the
milking-vessel.

The chief place of this *ti* is Pursâs, situated between 234
Kwòdrdoni and Kotagiri. The other dairies in the past were 621
at Kakwai, Karküln, Pobkars, and Kadrin, but only the first
of these, which is close to Kwòdrdoni, is now used.

At the time of my visit there was no *palol*, and the buffaloes, 177
only about eight in number, were standing at Kakwai, but were 234
not being milked.

A *palol* is appointed every year shortly before the ceremony 793
in honour of the god Kamataraya, which is celebrated by the Kotas in January. When the Kotas announce that they are about to hold this ceremony, a *palol* and *kaltmokh* are appointed who go to Pursâs. The buffaloes are milked and the ghi which is obtained from the milk is given to the Kotas. The *palol* remains in office for about twenty days, and his appointment is made altogether on behalf of the Kotas, who would be very angry if it were not done. It seemed that the success of the Kota ceremony would be seriously impaired if there were no *palol* at the Kwòdrdoni *ti*.

A *palol* would also be appointed if it were wished to hold [765]
the second funeral ceremonies, or *marvainolkedr*, of a
Kwòdrdoni person.

The Kwòdrdoni *ti* has never had more than one kind of 234
buffalo, and never more than one *palol* or *kaltmokh*. The 773
buffaloes, or *arsaiir*, are those which disobeyed the commands
of Ön (see Chap. IX), and are said to be responsible for the
dangers suffered by buffaloes from tigers.

The people of Nòdrs and Kars have the privilege of taking 184
buttermilk and food at the *ti*, and are known as *mòrol*, but 234
they may not sleep at the *ti mad*, nor do they take any part 554
in the buffalo migration. According to one account, the
people of Pan are also *mòrol*, and may even sleep at the *ti*.

THE NIDRSI TI

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This is an offshoot of the Kwòdrdoni *ti.* One evening, after the buffaloes and calves of the Kwòdrdoni *ti* had been shut up for the night, the women of an adjoining village were pounding the grain called *ragi.* When the calves heard the noise of the pounding, they ran out of their pen and made their way to Pursâs. One of the wooden *tasth* which bar the entrance of the pen became entangled in the neck of one of the calves, and when the calf reached a place near Edrpali village, the *tasth* dropped and became a wood, and the place is now called Tasthnòdrpem. From here the calf went on to Pursâs. The Kwòdrdoni people went to Pursâs to fetch back the calf, but when they got to the place they changed their minds and said that the calf should stop at Pursâs, and that the Nidrsi people should make a *ti* there and appoint a *palol*; and this was the origin of the Nidrsi *ti*, which is called *kar ti* because it was derived from a calf, while the *ti* of Kwòdrdoni is called *ir ti.* The two institutions have different dairies, but both are at Pursâs.

I could obtain little satisfactory information about the customs of the Nidrsi *ti.* There is only one *ti mad*, viz., that at Pursâs near the dairy of the Kwòdrdoni *ti.* Any of the Teivaliol may hold the office of *palol*, but at the time of my visit there was no *palol*, and the six buffaloes, which are all that remain of the herd, are being looked after, though not milked, by a Tarthar man, Todrigars (41), at one of the ordinary villages. A *palol* would have to be appointed before the second funeral ceremonies of one of the Nidrsiol could be performed, but apparently he would only hold office for a short time.

182 Again, the ceremonies connected with entrance upon any
771 dairy office are intended to purify the candidate and make
him fit to see and touch and use the sacred objects.

783 The purpose of some of the other ceremonies is less
788 obvious. The *irpalvusthi* ceremony seems to be of the
776 nature of a thanksgiving, one of its most important features
being a feast, but in this feast people may partake of the milk of sacred buffaloes, which is not ordinarily used by them, and there is a suggestive resemblance to those religious ceremonies in which communion is held with the divine by eating or drinking the divine.

The salt-giving ceremonies seem to point to a time when salt was difficult to procure. According to the Todas the object of these ceremonies is to ensure a plentiful supply of milk. There is a belief that salt is beneficial to the buffaloes, and the occasions on which the salt is given have become religious ceremonies which at the *ponup* of the *ti* have reached a high degree of elaboration with very special relations to the chief gods of the dairy. The ceremonies of making new *pep* are especially mysterious, and I will reserve some speculations as to the general idea underlying them till later (see p. 242).

COMPARISON OF THE PROCEDURE OF DIFFERENT DAIRIES

234 One of the most striking features of the ritual in all its
783 branches is its increasing elaboration and complexity from
788 the lowest to the highest grade of dairy.

One of the details of the ritual which runs through the
778 whole series of dairies is the separation between the vessels
and objects which come into contact with the buffaloes or their milk, and those which come into contact with the outside world, or with the products of the churning which may go to the outside world.

In the proceedings with the milk of the ordinary buffaloes in the huts where the people live, there is, so far as I know, no distinction of this kind.

In the lowest grade of dairy we already meet with the separation. All the vessels are kept in the same room, but in different parts of the room, the *patatmar* and the *ertatmar*, and this distinction between the two sets of objects is kept up in the migration ceremonies where they are carried by different men.

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There are no striking differences in this respect between the lower grades of dairy, whether *tarvali*, *kudrpali*, or *wursuli*; in all, the two sets of vessels are separated, but no strict measures are taken to prevent a vessel of the *patatmar* from coming into contact with a vessel of the *ertatmar* during the dairy operations. It is only on reaching the *kugvali* of Taradr that we find an intermediate vessel, the *kuvun*, used to transfer substances from a vessel of the more sacred to one of the less sacred kind, and to prevent possible contamination of the former by the latter.

It is in the *ti* dairy that these precautions reach their highest degree of development. Here the two sets of vessels are kept in different rooms, separated by a screen, and the dairy products are never transferred directly from a vessel of one kind to a vessel of the other, but always by means of an intermediate vessel. The butter and buttermilk produced by the churning operations in the inner room are transferred to the vessels of the outer room by means of the *idrkwoi*, which is kept on the dividing line between the two compartments. Similarly the vessels into which the butter and buttermilk are received are never allowed to come into direct contact with objects from the outside world, but their contents are transferred to vessels used outside the dairy by means of intermediate vessels, the *uppun* or the *mòrpun*.

In the migrations of the *ti* buffaloes this strict separation between the two kinds of vessel is still kept up. The things of the inner room are carried by the *palol* himself, while the things of the outer room are carried by others. The *idrkwoi*, though carried by the *palol* on the same staff as the things of the inner room, is kept apart from the rest, and is not allowed to touch them.

The fires of the *ti* dairy furnish another interesting example of the principle by which sacred objects are prevented from coming directly into relation with objects which may have

234 been contaminated by contact with the outside world. The
778 lamp is not lighted directly from the *tòratthwaskal*, which is
788 probably sometimes touched by the *kaltmokh*, but fire is
783 transferred from this fireplace to the *pelkkatitthwaskal*, from
which the lamp is lighted. Here, again, the use of an intermediary object is limited to the *ti* dairy.

[437] The principle of management by which the *palol* prevents the contamination of the sacred by the profane in the dairy is adopted by him in other ways. Whenever I paid any money to the *palol* at Mòdr, I placed it on a stone from which it was taken by the *kaltmokh* and handed to the *palol*. A similar procedure is generally adopted whenever anything is brought to, or taken from, a *ti* dairy. The *kaltmokh* in the above instance acts as the intermediate link between the *palol* and the unclean.

In the ordinary procedure of the village dairy, except at the *kugvali* of Taradr, no example occurs of this use of intermediate links, but there is such an example during the ordination of the *wursol*. When the *palikartmokh* gives the candidate milk from the *ertatpun* (p. 149), he does not pour it directly into the leaf-cup from which the candidate drinks, but first pours it into another leaf-cup and then from that into the cup used by the candidate.

Other features of the ritual in which there are differences in different grades of dairy are in the ceremonial touching of dairy vessels, in the avoidance of turning the back towards the contents of the dairy, in lamp-lighting, in the ritual connected with the bell, and in the frequency with which the prayer of the dairy is recited.

At the *tarvali* and *kudrpali*, the dairyman touches ceremonially the *majpariv* and the *patat* at the beginning of the afternoon churning, while at the *wursuli* this is done both morning and afternoon. At the *ti*, however, this ceremonial touching does not occur, or, at any rate, I failed to obtain any account of its performance.

The method of carrying out the dairy procedure *kabkaditi*, in which the back is never turned on the sacred vessels of the dairy, is not followed in the *tarvali*, except at the *irpalvusthi* ceremony. I have no record of it in the *kudrpali*, except on

234 the same occasion, and it is only followed regularly in certain
778 dairies of the *wursuli* grade, viz., Nòdrs, Nasmiòdr, Òdr, and
783 Kozhtudi. The first has a conical dairy, and Nasmiòdr and
Òdr are especially ancient and sacred places. At the *kugvali*
788 and the *ti* dairy, on the other hand, the dairy ceremonial
is always performed *kabkaditi*. At one ceremony, that of
irpalvusthi, the work of the dairy is performed *kabkaditi*
in every dairy of whatever grade.

The lamp-lighting is another feature which becomes more frequent and more ceremonial in the higher grades of dairy. In all the village dairies, including the *kugvali* of Taradr,[1] the lamp is only lighted ceremonially at the afternoon churning, the lighting being made the occasion of prayer. If the morning is dark, the lamp may be lighted, but it is clear that this is not done ceremonially, and the lighting is not accompanied by prayer. At the *ti* we have already seen that the lamp is lighted in a more ceremonial manner and in the morning as well as in the afternoon.

Some of the details of the ritual are definitely associated with the *mani*, and since the presence of a *mani* implies a higher grade of dairy, this leads to an increase in the elaboration of the ritual. The *mani* is treated in much the same way in all the grades of dairy which possess this sacred object.

Another feature in which the increasing sanctity of the dairy is shown is the frequency with which prayer is offered. At all the village dairies the dairyman only prays at the afternoon ceremonial when lighting the lamp, and when shutting up the buffaloes in their pen for the night. As already mentioned, there is a definite association between prayer and the ceremonial lamp-lighting.

234 In the *ti* dairy, prayer is offered both morning and evening;
778 at the morning ceremonial twice and in the afternoon
three times. On both occasions the first prayer begins when
788 the lamp is being lighted and is continued while the *palol*
knocks on one of the *persin* with the *persinkudriki*. The
second prayer in each case is offered at the conclusion of the
milking, and the third prayer of the afternoon corresponds to

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[1] I am doubtful about this point at the *poh* of Kanòdrs.

234 the second prayer of the village dairy, being offered when
778 shutting up the buffaloes for the night.

The increasing sanctity of the different grades of dairy
788 is shown very clearly by the increasing stringency in the rules
784 of conduct of the dairyman. The *tarvalikartmokh* may sleep
in the living hut on any night in the week, and there are no
793 restrictions on his intercourse with women. The *kudrpalikartmokh* may only sleep in the hut on Sundays, Wednesdays and Saturdays, and is prohibited from intercourse with Teivali women. The *wursol* is limited to two nights, Sunday and Wednesday, and, though himself a Teivali man, is prohibited from intercourse with Teivali women. The *kugvalikartmokh* has similar restrictions, but the *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs must avoid women altogether, and this is almost certainly the case with the *palol* also.

[262] The *tarvalikartmokh* takes his buttermilk and food without any ceremony. The *kudrpalikartmokh* must hold his food in his hands throughout his meal and must not put it on the ground.

In the case of the *wursol* we meet first with the ceremonial drinking of buttermilk, which must in this case be poured into the leaf-cup from the vessel called *ertatpun*. The *kugvalikartmokh* drinks buttermilk sitting on the seat outside his dairy and pours from the *ertatpun*, drinking three times only and saying "*Oñ*" each time.

The *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs has to take his food with very special precautions. He sits on the wall of his dairy and his hand must not touch his mouth nor the leaf-cup his lips. At the *ti* the drinking of buttermilk has become a definite ceremony in which the *kaltmokh* pours out drink for the *palol* with prescribed formulæ, but, strangely enough, the *palol* does not suffer from the same restrictions against touching his mouth as the *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs, though the latter holds an office which in most ways is distinctly less sacred than that of the *palol*.

234 The clothing of each grade is also regulated. Perhaps the
292 most important feature here is the use of the garments called
tuni. These are made of dark grey cloth of a quite different
793 kind from that of the ordinary clothes worn by the Todas.
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The garments are procured from the Badagas, and cloth 234
of the same kind, called *än*, is used to enwrap the corpse in the 292
funeral ceremonies. It is mentioned as the ordinary clothing
of a woman in the legend of Kwoten, and is almost certainly 793
the ancient clothing of the Todas still persisting in ceremonial 178
in connexion with the dead and in the dairy ritual.

The *tuni* is only worn by the higher grades of the dairyman-priesthood and by the *palikartmokh* of the Teivaliol. The *palol* wears *tuni* only, both his loin-cloth and his mantle being of this material. The *kaltmokh* has no need for a *tuni*, for when he is engaged in his work at the *ti* he has to be naked, and when away from the *ti* and in the sleeping hut he wears a small piece of *tuni*, the *petuni*, in his girdle, the piece of cloth marking the difference between the full *kaltmokh* and the *perkursol*.

The *wursol*, the *kugvalikartmokh*, and the Teivali *palikartmokh* only wear the *tuni* when actually engaged in the dairy work and leave it inside the dairy at other times. I am doubtful whether the *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs resembles the *palol* or the lower grades in this respect.

Although the *palikartmokh* of the *tarvali* and the *kudrpali* never wear the *tuni*, a small piece of this cloth is put in the girdle during the ordination ceremonies, and this may be a relic of a time when every dairyman wore the *tuni*.[1] In the secret language (see Chap. XXV) the word *petuni* is used in one place as the equivalent of 'uniform,' and this seems to indicate that the *petuni* is regarded as the badge of a dairyman.

The use of the leaves and bark of the sacred *tudr* tree is 234 ●
another feature which distinguishes different dairies. In the 778
tarvali it is, so far as I know, not used at all. In the *kudrpali* 788
it is only used in the *pepeirthti* ceremony. The *wursol* uses
tudr in his ordination ceremonies, but not in the ordinary ritual of his dairy, nor is it used in the daily ritual of the *ti* dairy, though largely used in the purification of the dairy and of the dairy vessels, and in the ordination ceremonies of the *palol*.

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[1] It is in favour of this supposition that in the legend Kwoten wore the *tuni* when acting as *palikartmokh* although he was one of the Tartharol.

234 The use of *tudr* in the ordination ceremonies is only allowed
778 to the members of the Teivali division and of the Melgars
788 clan of the Tartharol.

Special kinds of dairy or special dairies may have features peculiar to themselves; thus the *pepeirthti* ceremony, in which the dairyman beats on the *patat* with a piece of *tudr* bark, is only performed at the *kudrpali*; the prescription of nakedness when milking is confined to the *kudrpalikartmokh*; the special method of wearing the *putkuli* open in front when going to the buffaloes is only practised by the *wursol*, and the method of taking food sitting on the wall of the dairy and throwing the food into the mouth is peculiar to the *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs.

One feature of interest in the dairy organisation is the existence of different names at different dairies for the dairy products, and for the various objects used at the dairy or in connexion with the dairy ceremonies. The chief differences are found on comparing the village dairy with the *ti*, nearly every object having a different name in the two places, though occasionally a peculiarity of nomenclature may be confined to one dairy, as at Kanòdrs, where milk is called *persin*, the name of the churning vessel of the *ti*. As a general rule it seems that the name used in the village dairy is the same as that in ordinary use; thus, the dairy vessels used in the house for the milk of the ordinary buffaloes are known by the same names as those of the village dairy.

192 The use of special names in the more sacred dairies is
234 probably connected with their high degree of sanctity. The
names of the dairy vessels of the village are in common use,
778 and it would doubtless seem sacrilegious that the names of
788 the vessels of the *ti* should be thus in everyone's mouth.
Consequently nearly every object used in the ceremonial of
the *ti* dairy has a special name, and in the ordinary life of the
Todas these words are probably never uttered.

One striking feature of the dairy ritual is the use of the syllable *On*. With one exception (p. 177) this word is always uttered thrice, and it seems to be especially connected with the act of putting curds or milk on the bells. It has a suggestive resemblance to the mystical syllable *Om* of the Hindus. It is

also possible that it may be a form of the name of the god Ön, [192]
or, again, it may be a corruption of the word *mani*, of which 234
the initial letter has been dropped, a process of which other 778
examples have been given.

It is doubtful how much significance is attached to the 788
right and left sides in the dairy ritual. There is no doubt that in the most sacred acts of the ritual, such as saluting the buffaloes and the sun, or feeding the bell, it is the right hand which is used. This preference of the right hand is emphasised by the action of the *palol* in washing out his mouth, when he takes the water into his mouth from the left hand, because it is his right hand which has most to do with the sacred objects. In the migration ceremonies the dairy vessels are carried on the left shoulder, but at the *ti* the choice of this shoulder by the *palol* is obviously due to the fact that either the *mani* or churning-stick is carried in the right hand, and in other cases it is probable that the choice of the left shoulder is due to the necessity of leaving the right hand free. When the candidate drinks in the ordination ceremonies he holds the cup in the right hand, and this hand certainly has the preference throughout the dairy ritual. On the other hand, the *petuni* is worn on the left side of the waist-string, both by the *kaltmokh*, as a sign of his full rank, and by the *palikartmokh* during his ordination ceremonies.

In the ordinary dairy the side which is on the right hand in entering seems to be the more sacred, and the platform on this side is the *meitiin* or superior bed. In the *ti* dairy, on the other hand, there was some doubt as to the more sacred side. At Mòdr it seemed that the *mani* is on the left hand side of the *palol* as he is performing his duties, but it is doubtful whether this is so at other places, and it may be that my account of the Mòdr dairy is wrong in this respect.

THE SANCTITY OF MILK 234

The different degrees of sanctity attaching to the different 778
dairies are associated with differences in the rules regulating 272
the use of milk, and these rules seem to show clearly that 784

234 the milk of buffaloes belonging to the more sacred dairies has
778 a higher degree of sanctity than that churned in the lower
272 grades.

784 The milk of ordinary buffaloes may be drunk by anyone, man, woman, or child. The Todas do not ordinarily sell
[432] milk, but if they do so, they may only use the milk of ordinary buffaloes for this purpose. I have a note that anyone may also drink the milk of buffaloes belonging to the *tarvali*, but I suspect that this only applies to men who must drink it at the dairy.

The milk of the *kudrpali* may only be drunk by the *kudrpalikartmokh* himself. It is believed that any other person or animal who should drink milk from this dairy would die.

At the *wursuli* milk may be given to men at the dairy, but it must be mixed with buttermilk. At the *kugvali* of Taradr the milk of the *kugvalir* themselves is not drunk by anyone, the dairyman having certain ordinary buffaloes for his own use, and this is also the case at the *ti*. I believe that not even the *palol* would drink the milk of the *persinir*, the sacred buffaloes of the *ti*.

There is one exception to the rule that ordinary people may not use the milk of the sacred buffaloes of the village dairies (except in the form of butter and buttermilk). At the *irpalvusthi* ceremony at all the village dairies, including the *kugvali*, food is prepared with the milk of one of the sacred animals and this food is given to the people of the clan to which the dairy belongs and also to members of other clans.

In the case of the *wursuli*, I was especially told that this is the only occasion on which the milk of *wursulir* is used by people in general. At the *kugvali*, people of other clans are only given this food on the second day of the proceedings, and the distribution of the food is preceded by a ceremony in which some of the food is thrown into the fire. The milk used on this occasion is the milk of the buffalo which has recently calved, the ceremony being in celebration of this event.

At the *wursuli* it is noteworthy that the food is cooked by the *wursol* himself, the ceremony of *irpalvusthi* being the

only occasion on which a dairyman of this grade prepares 234
food. Thus, when the milk of the *wursulir* is used ceremoni- 272
ally as a food by ordinary people, the food is prepared by the
dairyman-priest. One feature of the *irpalvusthi* ceremony is 778
that the work is performed *kabkaditi* in every dairy, and it is 784
possible that this sign of increased respect is intended to counteract the desecration which is about to take place in the use of the milk by the profane. As I have already pointed out, the *irpalvusthi* ceremony has a strong resemblance to a sacrificial feast, in which people partake of the sacred animal, but in this case it is the milk of the animal and not the animal itself which is taken.

A further indication of the sanctity of milk is given in the prohibition against the drinking of milk by a widower or widow during a period which, as we shall see later, may extend to many months.

The restrictions on the use of the milk of the sacred [178]
animals have the general characters associated with taboos, and the whole daily ritual of the dairy would seem to be designed to remove the taboo. It is possible that at one time the milk of the sacred buffaloes was not used at all, and that these animals only suckled their calves. If then the Todas had begun to milk the sacred buffaloes, it is natural that the milking and churning should have been accompanied by ritual designed to counteract the evils to be expected from the profanation of the sacred substance and the breaking of the taboo. In certain circumstances even now the Todas do not milk their sacred buffaloes, but allow them to suckle their calves only. If a *ti* dairy, or even one of a lower grade, has no dairyman, the buffaloes are not milked, though they are still tended by some unsanctified person and are kept ready to take their part in the dairy ritual if a dairyman should again be appointed.

SPECIAL DAIRY CUSTOMS

The general method of treating the milk in the dairy 171
procedure seems to be the same as that generally followed 234
in India and other hot countries. The milk is allowed to

171 coagulate and the curd is churned. The butter so obtained
234 differs from that of European countries in containing the
proteid as well as the fat constituents of milk. This butter
is then clarified, but in this respect there is an important
difference between the ordinary Hindu procedure and that of
the Todas. The usual Hindu method is to heat slowly over
[262] a fire without the addition of any other substance. The
Todas add grain or rice to the butter before clarification, and
this sinks to the bottom of the vessel and forms a substance
called by the Todas *al*, which is one of their chief foods.
This deposit of grain or rice will carry down with it some,
possibly all, of the proteid constituents, and the *al* will, therefore,
be a nourishing food.

The only other detail in which the Toda procedure is peculiar[1] is in the addition of buttermilk from a previous churning to the newly-drawn milk, the buttermilk or *pep* being put into the vessel before milking. This addition probably hastens the process of coagulation, but its chief interest is derived from the fact that it has become the nucleus of some of the most interesting features of the dairy ceremonial.

234 This addition of buttermilk seems to be regarded as forming
415 a thread of continuity in the dairy ritual, and the ceremony of
pepkaricha, or making new *pep*, is held whenever this continuity
778 is broken. The *pep* is connected with a dairy vessel
788 of the kind called *mu*, which is buried in the buffalo pen, and
if any evil befalls the *mu*, it is held to be a cause for making
new *pep*—*i.e.*, the usual course of the dairy procedure will be
interrupted, in some cases for months.

The buried dairy vessel seems to be linked in some mysterious way with the fortunes of the dairy, and especially with the buttermilk which forms the element of continuity in the dairy procedure. The buried dairy vessel, or *mu*, is not one which is now generally used to hold buttermilk. There are two kinds of *mu* in the dairy, one which contains the butter added during the churning, while the other is used,

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[1] It is an Indian practice to add sour buttermilk to the milk to promote coagulation, but this is usually done after heating the milk. It is possible that in some parts of India it may be added to the milk before or immediately after it is drawn.

partly as a receptacle for the milk which is about to be 234
churned, and partly to fetch water from the stream. It is 415
highly probable that there was at one time a third *mu* in the 778
dairy, which was a receptacle for the buttermilk added before 788
milking.

At the especially sacred dairy of Kanòdrs, where ancient procedure is likely to have lingered, the buried *mu* is still used as a receptacle for buttermilk. When this dairy is unoccupied, a certain amount of buttermilk is kept in the buried *mu*, and when the dairy is again occupied, this buttermilk is used to add to the milk. In this case the continuity of the dairy procedure is directly kept up by means of the buried vessel, and this procedure of the Kanòdrs dairy is strongly in favour of the view that the buried vessel was formerly a receptacle for the *pep*.

There are other indications that the *mu* is the most sacred of the dairy vessels. It is this vessel which is touched by the *wursol* the *kugvalikartmokh* of Taradr and the *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs, as the final act which gives them their full status at the ordination ceremonies, and we shall see later that in the funeral ceremonies at Taradr a temporary building is made to represent a dairy by placing in its inner room a *mu*. In this last case, it would seem that the *mu* is regarded as the emblem of the dairy, and that placing a *mu* in the inner room of the temporary building makes it a dairy.

The representative of the *mu* at the *ti* dairy is the *peptòrzum*, but it does not seem that this vessel is specially distinguished from the rest, and it does not appear to have the sanctity and importance which attaches to this kind of vessel at the village dairy.

There seem to be two chief possibilities in explaining the existence of the buried *mu*. It may be that it was at one time the custom to bury the *pep* while the village was unoccupied, and that this custom now only persists at Kanòdrs, the *mu* at other places being no longer used for this purpose, though it has continued to be of ceremonial importance. The other possibility is that, as the *pep* acquired increased importance in the dairy ritual, the sanctity of the buttermilk was transferred to the vessel which contained it, and the

234 sanctity of the vessel became so great that it was not thought
415 right to leave it exposed to the dangers it might incur in the
778 dairy, especially in the various migrations, and it was therefore buried in the buffalo pen of the chief village of the clan.
788 It is probable that the custom arose in the way suggested by the procedure of the Kanòdrs dairy, but that the full development of the custom has been largely due to the belief in its special sanctity.

261 The obscure observance of having a ball of food larger than
788 can be eaten at one sitting occurs twice in the various dairy ceremonials. It is a feature of the ceremonies which the *kaltmokh* has to undergo on the day after the migration of the Nòdrs *ti* to Anto, and the superabundant portion of food has also to be eaten by the candidate for the office of *palol* in the preliminary ceremony called *tesherst*. In each case the food is of the ceremonial kind called *ashkkartpimi*. I can offer no suggestions as to the meaning of the observance, nor do I know of any parallel for it.

PURITY AND IMPURITY

234 The idea of ceremonial purity is one running through the
783 whole of the dairy rites. Many of the details of the ritual, the purification of new vessels and of dairies revisited after a period of disuse, the ordination ceremonies of the dairyman, the elaborate ceremonies accompanying the making of new *pep*, all show a very deeply engrained idea that men and things have in themselves some degree of impurity, and that in order to be made fit for the service of the gods, they must be purified and sanctified by appropriate ceremonies.

As regards man two grades of impurity are recognised: (i.) the impurity of the ordinary man, which is perhaps an absence of ceremonial purity rather than actual impurity; and (ii.) the special impurity which is the result of certain events and especially of those accompanying birth and death.

The impurity of the ordinary man does not prevent him from visiting the dairies of the lower grade, but it prohibits him from taking any part whatever in the actual dairy operations. With certain exceptions, he is rigorously excluded from actual contact either with dairies or dairymen of the higher grades. He is perhaps regarded as unsanctified rather than impure. The definite impurity which is the condition of those who have attended funeral ceremonies or have been in relation with a woman in the period of seclusion after childbirth is something very different. Such a man is not merely unsanctified, he is unfit to hold any sacred office; even the prolonged ceremonies of ordination would not fit him to hold office in the dairy or to perform any part in the tendance of the sacred buffaloes, and he is not allowed even to approach the members of the higher grades of the dairyman-priesthood. 234 783

WOMEN AND THE DAIRY

Women take no part in the dairy ritual, nor in the milking and churning operations which are carried on in the hut. It is said that at one time the women took charge of the buffaloes at the time of calving, but this is not the case at the present time. 234 562 784

Women go to the dairy to fetch buttermilk, using an appointed path and standing at an appointed spot to receive it.

Females enter dairies under two conditions only. They may enter the outermost rooms of those dairies which are used as funeral huts while the bodies of men are lying in them. Here they may sit only on one side of the room, and only when the dairy operations are not in progress. Women also enter the temporary funeral huts of men which are called *pali*, or dairies.

The other condition under which a female enters a dairy is at the migration ceremony of the village, in which a girl, seven or eight years of age, is given food in the dairy of the village which the buffaloes are leaving, and sweeps the front of the dairy of the village to which they are going. This ceremony is one in which a girl seems to take a definite part in dairy ceremonial, but the girl chosen for this office must be below the age of puberty.

The relations of women with the different grades of dairymen have already been considered; a point which may again

234 be mentioned is that the emblems of womanhood, the
784 pounder, sieve, and broom, may be removed from the hut
while the dairyman is present, though the women themselves
562 remain.

During certain dairy ceremonials, women must leave the village altogether, and during the passage of the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* near the village of Kiudr, the women leave the village, taking with them the pounder, sieve, and broom.

Although women are thus excluded from all participation in the dairy ceremonial, we shall see later (Chapter XIV) that an artificial dairy plays a part in some of the ceremonies connected with pregnancy and childbirth.

HISTORY OF THE DAIRY

173 The Todas can give very little information which throws
234 any light on the development of this complex organisation of
the dairy with its elaborate ritual. According to tradition,
778 the most sacred dairies, and especially that of the Nòdrs *ti*,
date back to the time when the gods were active on earth and
were themselves dairymen.

Beyond the belief that buffaloes of different kinds were assigned to the different clans by Teikirzi, I could obtain no account of beliefs about the origin or growth of the other grades of dairy. One fact as to the past which seemed clear was that *ti* dairies were at one time more numerous than at present, and several places now possessing village dairies of the ordinary kind are said to have been at one time the seats of *ti* dairies. Thus it is believed that Kiudr was formerly a *ti* place, and the old weatherworn stones shown in Figs. 31 and 32, which are still called *neurzülnkars*, seem to provide evidence that tradition is here correct. The village of Teidr is said to have been at one time a *ti*, and here again two stones called *neurzülnkars* are to be seen about a quarter of a mile from the village.

There is another feature of the Kiudr dairy which suggests that it may at one time have been a *ti* dairy. It contains six bells called *mani*, which clearly differ in nature from the *mani* of the other village dairies, especially in the fact that they

are not used at funerals. They are also distinguished as 173
palatmani and *ertatmani*, a distinction not met with in any 234
other village dairy. It seems probable that they are the 778
representatives of the two kinds of bells of a *ti*, the *mani* proper and the *kudrsmani*. The *ertatmani* of Kiudr are 'fed' with buttermilk, a procedure not followed, so far as I know, in any other dairy, but it may be that this is a feature of the procedure of the *ti* dairy which escaped me. Certainly the most likely explanation of the existence of these bells at Kiudr is that they are survivals of its former position as a *ti* dairy.

The villages of Kiudr and Teidr both belong to the Teivaliol, and this raises the question whether this division of the Todas may not have possessed *ti* herds and *ti* dairies of their own at one time, and may not always have had to be content with providing dairymen for institutions belonging to the Tartharol. No information could be given on this point, but it seems unlikely that dairies and places belonging to a Tarthar clan should have been handed over to the Teivaliol when they were no longer used as *ti* dairies and *ti* places.

Certain Tarthar villages are also said to have had at one time *ti* dairies, especially the sacred places of Nòdrs and Òdr. This probably means that there is a tradition that the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* were at one time kept at these places which, as we have seen, are still visited by the *palol* during his ordination ceremonies.

The process of extinction of *ti* institutions can be seen 178
in progress at the present time. The Nidrsi *ti* is not now 234
in working order; there has been no *palol* for some years and its dairies are unoccupied. It is said that a *palol* would have to be appointed temporarily if it was desired to perform the second funeral ceremonies of a Nidrsi man, but in the present condition of the Nidrsiol, it seems to me not at all unlikely, either that the rule will be disregarded, or that the second funeral ceremonies will not be performed, and that the Nidrsi *ti* will become absolutely extinct, possibly dragging down
another institution into extinction with it. 177

The Kwòdrdoni *ti* is now only active for a short time once 178
every year in order to satisfy a ceremonial requirement of the 234

177 Kotas, and this institution may possibly soon become little
178 more than a name. If it were not for the Kotas, it would
undoubtedly be as near extinction as the *ti* of Nidrsi. One
234 *palol* of the Pan *ti* has recently ceased to be appointed, and
the same difficulty which has led to his disappearance will probably sooner or later vacate the other office, and Pan will follow in the footsteps of the other clans. Many of the dairies belonging even to the more prosperous *ti* institutions are now disused, and some have completely vanished. The legend of Kwoto preserves a tradition of ceremonial accompanying the migration of the buffaloes of the Kars *ti* which has now entirely disappeared, and nothing is known of the special features of ritual which were practised at many *ti* dairies which have become extinct.

Of dairies of other grades, the *poh* of Kanòdrs is now only occupied for a short time once a year, and its ceremonial may soon also become extinct. The conical *poh* of Kars and the seven-roomed *kudrpali* of Nòdrs are dairies which have ceased to exist, and with the extinction of the latter have gone completely all traces of the ritual which was practised in this kind of dairy, and nothing is known as to the meaning of the seven rooms.

Some of these changes are recent, and due to the altered conditions produced by the general invasion of the Nilgiris, but others date back to a time before Europeans came to the hills, and were due to intrinsic conditions, chiefly the hardships connected with the ritual practised in certain of the dairies. The altered surroundings of the Todas are undoubtedly hastening the process of decay, and institutions which would probably have lasted for centuries will now almost certainly disappear in a few decades.

portant a family to have *murthvichi*" and any one who has 124
been the cause of such a state of things is liable to suffer 754
misfortunes. When therefore some of Teikudr's buffaloes
died and Teikudr consulted the *teuol*, these diviners gave as 578
the reasons for the misfortunes the *murthvichi*, not the
piliutvichi, of Teitnir. According to Teitnir, Teikudr was
himself a sorcerer and there were reports that the recent death
of Teitnir's wife was due to the *piliutvichi* of Teikudr, and
just before I left the hills, I was told that the *teuol* had
arrived at the conclusion that Teikudr had had a hand in her
death.

The Toda sorcerers are not only feared by their fellow Todas 177
but also by the Badagas, and it is probably largely owing 754
to fear of Toda sorcery that the Badagas continue to pay 787
their tribute of grain.

The Badagas may also consult the Toda diviners. In one recent case a Badaga consulted Mongudrvan, who found that the misfortune from which the man was seeking relief was due to the sorcery of Kaners. Kaners was, no doubt, propitiated by the Badagas, and it is probable that the belief of the Badagas in the magical powers of the Todas is turned to good account by the latter.

In some cases Todas have been killed by the Badagas 177
owing to this belief. About ten years ago Pushteidi of Nòdrs 754
(6), the elder brother of Keitan, was a very notable sorcerer,
much dreaded by both Todas and Badagas. He visited the
Badaga village of Nanjanad on the occasion of a feast, and
soon after a Badaga child died and its death was at once
ascribed to the sorcery of Pushteidi. Not long after,
Pushteidi's dead body was found near his village, and there
seemed to be no reason to doubt that the Badagas had killed
him, but owing to the fact that the Todas held the funeral
and burnt the body before they made a report to the police,
the crime could not be thoroughly investigated nor the
murderers brought to account.

One of the events which the Todas ascribe to sorcery is 234 ●
failure of the milk to coagulate. If there is much trouble in 787
getting the milk to form *adrpars*, the *teuol* are consulted, and 754
they sometimes find that it is due to sorcery and sometimes

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that some offence against the dairy has been committed. I have no information, however, as to the method which the sorcerer uses to prevent the coagulation of the milk of any one who has offended him.

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The only other indication of Toda methods of sorcery came to me from a Badaga source. A Badaga *maistri* said that he had been given an account by a Toda. According to this account, the sorcerer takes three leaves of each of the plants which the Badagas call *jakalmul*, *pemmul*, and *tupumul* (evidently varieties of the *muli* of the Todas), puts the nine leaves in a new earthenware pot and buries the pot in a wood after saying certain formulæ in which he wishes evil to a given man whom he mentions by name. When the man falls ill and the diviners say by whom his illness has been produced, a reconciliation is effected and the sorcerer digs up the pot of leaves when the sufferer again becomes well. This information came from a Badaga source and I could not obtain confirmation of it from the Todas but it is possibly an approximation to the method employed in one form of Toda sorcery.

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[721]
The Todas dread the sorcery of the Kurumbas more than that of their own *pilikòren*. The latter can be remedied, but the sorcery of the Kurumbas, called *kurubudrchiti* (*Kurub* = Kurumba), is much more dangerous and cannot be remedied. If it is found that a Kurumba has made a man ill, the only thing to be done is to kill the Kurumba (see p. 641).

When Kutadri became ill while he was with me in the Kundahs, the first suggestion was that the Kurumbas were responsible. Soon after this I went to Kotagiri, and Kòdrner, Kutadri's brother, who was to accompany me, said that as the Kurumbas were very numerous in that part he did not like to go alone with me and made a stipulation that while I was on that side of the hills I was to provide him with a companion. Mr. Thurston[1] describes a similar experience in which his guide was afraid to walk from Ootacamund to Kotagiri lest he should come to grief at the hands of the Kurumbas. In this case it seemed that the man was using his fears as an excuse, and in my case the fear may have been

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[1] *Bulletin*, i. p. 182.

755 *pathanmul.*[1] The thorn and some of the salt are then put into
177 the fire, and the *utpol* utters the following incantation :—

Pithioteu Ön idith, Teikirzim Tirshtim idith,	*tan*	*âv*	*kan*	*pudrs*	*kan*
	his	mother	eye	perish	eye

pudri	*ûmâ ;*	*tan*	*in*	*kan pudrs kan pudri ûmâ ;*
be destroyed	may ;		father	

and this formula is repeated, substituting for *av* or *in* the names of the following relatives :—*an*, *akkan*, *nòdrved*, *mun*, *mimi*, *pian*, *piav.*[2] Then follows the same formula repeated, in which the names of various tribes are substituted for those of the relatives, as " *mav kan pudrs kan pudri uma* "—Badaga eye perish, may his eye be destroyed." The people mentioned are *mav* (Badaga), *pedr* (Tamil), *suti* (? chetties), *kurub* (Kurumbas), *erl* (Irulas), *panin* (Panyas).[3] The last clause is *möditi kan pudrs kan pudri uma*, extending the imprecation to the women of all the people already mentioned. When the incantation is finished, the remainder of the salt is eaten by the sick man.

755 The Toda *utkòren* may practise 'absent treatment.' If a man wishes to treat a sufferer from the evil eye, and is unable to visit his patient, he puts the salt on the ground and strokes it with the thorn of *pathanmul*, repeating the above incantation as he strokes. He then sends the salt to the sick man, by whom it is eaten.

The treatment in any case is repeated till it has been done three times.

[234] If it is a buffalo which is suffering from the evil effects of *kanarvasnudr*, the *utkòren* use the same method, and the salt is eaten by the buffalo.

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755 In the special case in which the evil is produced by saying that a man is looking well or is well dressed, the *utkòren* have a different method. They take a piece of the root called *kabudri*,[4] and a plant called *kwagal*, and squeeze the juice of both into a vessel.

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[1] The leaves of this plant, *Solanum indicum*, are used in the ordination of the *kugvalikartmokh*.

[2] For the meaning of these kinship-terms, see Chap. XXI.

[3] It is noteworthy that the Kotas are not included.

[4] This is the plant, *Euphorbia Rothiana*, used at the purification of the *ti* dairy (p. 136).

which are eaten; (iv) those of trees which give pungent 755
substances like chillies and pepper. 824

There were various other complaints for which the 755
utkòren are consulted, such as:—*elptûksnûdr*, depression in
the chest of a child when it breathes (*elp* or *elv* = bone);
tekhpkâdathvūdnûdr, pain in the side; *kankpudithnûdr*, if
anything gets into the eye; *erutûthtinûdr*, if cut or wounded
in any way; *pohersnûdr*, if snake bites.

Each of these has its appropriate treatment, but the only 752
method of which I obtained an account was the last. Cer- 755
tain men have a special reputation for the treatment of
snake-bite. A cord is made of woman's hair and this is
bound tightly round the bitten limb in three places. The
doctor takes a piece of *pathanmul* and strikes the bitten limb
while he utters the appropriate incantation.[1] The ligature is
kept on the limb for two or three days and the incantation is
repeated three times a day during that period. Anyone
whom a snake has bitten must not cross a stream. If it is
absolutely necessary that he should cross, he must be carried
over it.

If wild animals attack the buffaloes, a procedure which 234
closely resembles those already described is carried out by 755
the *utkòren*. The procedure is called *kâdrkatinamûdr*—*i.e.*, 789
"wild beast tie mouth if." It is also carried out if a buffalo
is lost, and in this case the charm will keep the animal from
injury by wild beasts. The *utpol* takes three stones secretly
and goes at night to the front either of the dairy or hut and
utters the following incantation:—

Pithioten Ön idith, Teikirzim Tirshtim idith; pef pirzi kût terz nil
big tiger teeth fastened stand

mâ; kâkk kerman mûn terz nil mâ; padr kenai amûn terz
may; black bear face crowd red dog other side

nil mâ; pob teszv terz nil mâ; pef per terz nil mâ; pef po
snake erect head big hill big river

pâ terz nil mâ; pef pòdi mul[2] terz nil mâ.
stream big porcupine quills

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[1] I did not obtain this formula.

[2] *Mul*, which means bramble and thorn, is here used for the porcupine's quills.

234 Then come the names of Pithioteu and Ön, followed by
755
789

âth	*ârodin*	*kati*	*vaiumâ.*
these	all before	tie	keep may.

The *utpol* then takes a piece of ragged cloth in which he ties the three stones and hides them in the thatch of the hut. If a buffalo has been lost it will come back the next day, and even if it remains in the wood no tiger would touch it while the stones are in the thatch. When the buffalo returns the stones are taken out and thrown away.

755 789 All the remedies so far described ~~resemble~~ one another in that they are applied by one of the people called *utkòren.* The following remedy is applied by the sufferer himself. If a man is frightened in any way, as by a sudden noise when he is passing along a road, he will go home and put the hoe (*kudali*) and a stone called *neilikal* into the fire till the hoe is red hot. He puts the hoe and stones into a brass vessel called *terg* and pours on water. He then covers himself entirely with his cloak and remains covered till the water in the vessel ceases to bubble, when he opens his cloak, drinks water from the vessel three times, and throws the rest away.

[372] There was some difference of opinion as to the use of the stone called *neilikal* at ordinary times. ~~It was~~ said first to have been used for making fire before matches were introduced, and there seems to be no doubt that fire was sometimes made in this way. Others said that the *neilikal* was used for sharpening iron tools. The only *neilikal* I saw was at Nidrsi and this was a large piece of quartz, and there seemed to be no doubt that this had at one time been used for making fire.

302 754 In one of the methods of sorcery which have been described it will be remembered that human hair is used. The Todas take the same kind of precautions about hair and nail-parings which are so widely spread throughout the world, but the reasons for the precautions differed from those usually given. I was told that the Todas do not ordinarily cut their hair, but the heads of children are shaved and adults also shave their heads on special occasions. The hair removed

at these times is hidden in bushes or hollows in the rocks, 302
and the reason given is that it may not be taken by crows. 754

Nail-parings are buried in the ground, and this is done [234] in order that they may not be eaten by the buffaloes, for "nails are poisonous to buffaloes," who will die or become ill if they find them when grazing.

There was some difference of opinion as to what was done [753] with the hair cut off at the ceremony called *tersamptpimi* (see p. 333). It was clear, however, that care was taken that it should not be eaten by crows, for if crows obtained any of the hair first cut from a child's head the child would suffer from shaking of some kind.

Both at the first head-shaving and at the *tersamptpimi* 751 ceremony special bangles are put round the wrist of the child, and these are certainly of the nature of charms, for it is believed that the child would fall ill if they were not used.

The Todas believe in certain injurious influences which 177
they class together under the name of *pudrtvuti*,[1] but I was 776
able to obtain very little information about them, and I 751
suspect that belief in these influences is largely of recent growth and due to contact with Hinduism.

One variety of *pudrtvuti* is the evil influence of *Keirt* (*Keirtpudrtvuti*) at the ceremonies after childbirth (see p. 326). Another variety is *kòdipudrtvuti* (*kòdi*, demon?). The Todas now adopt as a preventative of this evil influence a round
mark made with ashes above the nose. If a Toda should 755
suffer from the effects of *kòdipudrtvuti*, two remedies are 278
adopted. One is called *kavkal wart atpimi*—*i.e.*, "*kavkal* 824
(a stone) grind, pour we." I did not obtain an account of the remedy, but it is possibly the same as that already described which is used by a man when frightened. The other remedy is *kwagal atpimi*. *Kwagal* (*Polygonum rude* or *P. Chinense*) is the same plant which is used in one of the remedies for the evil eye (see p. 264) and it is possible again that this remedy is the same as that already described. *Kwagal* is also the plant used by the goddess Puzi to quench the fire of her son, Kurindo.

It will have been noticed that the formulæ recorded in this 000

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[1] *Pūdrt* is probably the Toda form of the word *bhūt*.

754 is probable that this knowledge is transmitted from one old
756 person to any other who may be likely to inspire confidence.
[562] It will be noted that a woman can practise the magical
remedies of the *utkòren*, but I do not know whether this is a recent innovation. It seems clear that a woman could never become one of the *pilikòren* or sorcerers.

788 When discussing the formulæ of the dairy ritual, it was
mentioned that one difficulty in the way of regarding these
192 formulæ as prayers is that the names of deities are not
234 uttered in the vocative form, and that this might be held to
754 negative the idea that they involve supplication to higher
powers. In the magical formulæ there seems to be a clearer case for the presence of a distinct address to deities, though it is doubtful whether this address is of a supplicative or compelling character. If there is a distinct address in the case of the magical formulæ, which every Toda would acknowledge to be used for an evil end, it is very probable that the words of the dairy formulæ also involve the idea of an address to deities. These formulæ are always directed to avert evils from and to call down blessings on the buffaloes, and it seems almost certain that for this good end the words imply not only an address to the powers of the gods, but also one of a supplicative rather than of a compelling character.

One distinction between the formulæ of the dairy and those of the sorcerer may be pointed out. In the latter the names of the gods are those used in ordinary conversation, *i.e.*, Teikirzi, Tirshti, and are not the *kwarzam*, *i.e.*, *Ekirzam meidjam*.

771 One of the most interesting features of this chapter has
788 been the clear evidence given in the formulæ of the close
relation existing between magic and religion among the
754 Todas. The formulæ of magic and of the dairy ritual are of
793 the same nature, though the differentiation between the sorcerer
and the priest who use them is even clearer than that between the sorcerer and the medicine-man. It is probable that the names of the gods with the characteristic formulæ of the prayer are later additions to the magical incantation; that at some time the sorcerer has added the names of the most important of his deities to the spells and charms which at one

Owing to the general reluctance to talk about this ceremony, 123
I was not able to obtain such independent accounts from other 124
people as I should have liked, but the details of the sacrifice
as given me by Teitnir agreed with those of the ceremony I 761
witnessed, and I have no doubt as to its essential accuracy. I 782
had hoped to have obtained independent evidence on some 796
doubtful features at the end of my visit, but these hopes were entirely frustrated by the death of Teitnir's wife a few days after the ceremony which had been performed for my benefit, her death being generally ascribed to the anger of the gods because the secrets of *erkumptthpimi* had been revealed. After I had left the hills, however, Samuel succeeded in obtaining information on several doubtful points, and was given an independent account which entirely confirmed the accuracy of the proceedings which he had witnessed at the same time as myself.

The ceremony is performed both at the ordinary village and 782
at the *ti* dairy. At the *ti* there is no doubt that it is 796
performed three times a year, but there was much discrepancy 621
in the accounts of its frequency at the village. According to
some, the sacrifice only takes place once a year at each village 234
in October, soon after the ceremony of *teutütusthchi*, to be described later in this chapter. According to others, the ceremony is performed whenever the people have a suitable male calf to sacrifice. During the ten years that my interpreter, Samuel, had been living among the Todas, he had come to the conclusion that the ceremony is performed fairly often, his opinion being based on chance remarks made by the children. I think there is very little doubt that a calf is now killed in each village more often than once a year, and the ceremony at which I was present was almost certainly one of the occasional performances, though the time of year at which it took place makes it possible that it was the chief annual occasion of that village.

There was also some doubt whether there is an annual ceremony in every village for the people living in that village, or whether the annual ceremony is only performed in the *etudmad*, or chief village of each clan, for all the people of the clan. The true state of affairs at the present time is probably

782 that the ceremony is performed at the Nòdrs *ti* in October.
796 Fifteen days later it is performed at the other *ti mad* and at
the chief village of each clan. In addition to these annual
621 celebrations the sacrifice is performed on two other occasions
● 234 at the *ti*, while at a village it may be performed whenever
the people of the village have a suitable animal.

[778] The place at which the sacrifice is performed[1] is called the
ernkar, and at Karia, where I witnessed the ceremony, the *ernkar* is in a wood nearly half a mile from the village at a spot where it is very unlikely that the proceedings would be disturbed by chance visitors. It seems that there is not only a special *ernkar* for each *ti* and for each clan, but that each village has also its appointed place.

The ceremony is performed on appointed days, different for each *ti* and clan. In the case of the Kuudrol, these are Sunday, Wednesday, and Thursday, and the ceremony which I witnessed at Karia, a village of this clan, took place on a
[793] Sunday. The chief officiator at the sacrifice at an ordinary
village is the *palikartmokh* of the village, who must, however, for this occasion be of the same clan as those who are celebrating the sacrifice.

On the day arranged for the ceremony at Karia the *palikartmokh* was ill, and as none of the other inhabitants of Karia was able to undertake the office, an elderly man, Punatvan (53), had to be fetched from another village. On his arrival he had first to go through the ordination ceremonies for the office of *palikartmokh*, a lucky chance which gave me the only opportunity I had during my visit of observing these proceedings.

813 At the *ernkar* wood for the fire is collected, and over
small firewood the people place several logs about three feet
372 in length, so that the fire is of an oblong form. The firewood
782 must be of one or both of the kinds called *main* and *kiül*.
796 While some of those present are making the fire, others will
be fashioning sharply pointed stakes of wood on which the parts of the calf are to be impaled. These sticks are called *ko*, and must be made of one of the following four kinds of wood: *avelashki*, *karkekoi*, *kwadiki*, or *pohvet*. It was said that exactly fifty of these *ko* must be provided.

[1] [The sacrifice of a young male calf -- the Erkumptthpimi Ceremony--Analyst]

last exclamation being the sound which is ordinarily uttered 782
when calling a calf. 796

When the flesh[1] is sufficiently roasted the *palikartmokh* eats 262
the *tütmtis*, while the others present may eat any portion. When enough has been eaten, the remainder of the cooked flesh is carried to the village. The *mogâl*, *agelv*, *mad*, and *kwelthkh* are carried to the dairy by the *palikartmokh* and kept there. The flesh of these parts is eaten by the dairyman or by other men, but may on no account be eaten by a woman. The other parts are taken to the hut and given into the keeping of the women, and the flesh of these parts can be eaten by any one—man, woman, or child. Butter is often put on the flesh before it is eaten.

THE SACRIFICE AT THE TI

The sacrifice at the *ti* is called *ernudrtipimi*, and is per- 834
formed at every *ti* three times in the year. The first occasion 782
is about fifteen days after the ceremony of *teutütusthchi* 796
in October. The second occasion is about January, when the buffaloes of the *ti* migrate to the Kundahs or elsewhere for the dry season. The third occasion is after the ceremony of giving salt, which is known as *kòrup* (see p. 175). The ceremony may take place at any *ti mad* except Anto.

The appointed days are Sunday and Wednesday. On the day before the ceremony wood is taken by the *palol* and *kaltmokh* to the sacrificial spot, called *erukar* as at the village. At Mòdr the wood in which the sacrifice takes place is called Turikipül.

The sacrifice may be performed either in the morning or evening, and takes place, in either case, before *kaizhvatiti*, the ceremonial pouring of buttermilk. This means that the sacrifice takes place during and not after the dairy ceremonial, and thus forms part of the dairy ritual. Each *palol* wears the *pòdrshtuni*, while the *kaltmokh* is naked throughout except for the *kuvn*. The *kaltmokh* arranges the firewood and the chief *palol* (at the Nòòrs *ti*, the *ti palol*) lights the wood with fire brought from his dairy. The calf is then killed and cut up with exactly the same ritual as in the village ceremony.

[1] [of a young male calf, sacrificed during the Erkumptthpimi Ceremony -- Analyst]

234 782 796 262 After the flesh has been placed round the fire both the *palol* return to their dairies, leaving the *kaltmokh* at the *ernkar* to look after the roasting flesh. Each *palol* prays as usual and takes buttermilk without the aid of the *kaltmokh*, and then returns to the *ernkar*, the chief *palol* taking butter with him. At the place of the sacrifice the *palol* eats the *tûtmüs* only, first putting it, together with butter, on leaves of *kakud*, from which he eats. The *kaltmokh* eats part of the liver at the *ernkar*, and is not allowed to touch any other part of the animal unless given to him by the *palol*. The *mogâl*, *agelv*, *mad*, and *kwelthkh* are then carried by the *palol* to the dairy where they are kept. They are eaten only by the *palol* and *kaltmokh*. Some parts are carried by the *kaltmokh* to the sleeping-hut, and are eaten by the *kaltmokh* and *mòrol*; other parts are taken to the outskirts of the *ti mad* and given to any Todas who may visit the dairy.

234 In connexion with the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony, I was told of a device employed to induce the mother of the sacrificed calf to continue suckling after her offspring has been killed. Several days before the sacrifice the calf to be sacrificed and a female calf of about the same age are shut up together in the *kush*, or small structure in which young calves are kept. On the floor of the *kush* are spread some of the grass called *nark*[1] and some leaves of the *kiars*[2] tree. When these have been broken up and mixed with earth by the trampling of the calves, a handful of the mixture, together with milk, is rubbed on the backs of both calves, and this is repeated for three or four days. The object is that the mother shall not know which is her own calf, and shall suckle both, and continue to suckle the female calf when her own has been taken away. During the days on which the calves are shut up together the dairyman should keep *pon*, *i.e.*, he should not sell or give away any of the produce of the dairy.

If this device is not employed or is unsuccessful the skin of the sacrificed calf is placed on the back of a female calf, and in this way the mother may be induced to suckle the latter.

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[1] *Andropogon Schœnanthus*, a strongly-scented grass.

[2] ? *Kiaz*.

234 When Teitnir performed the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony for my benefit, he did not succeed in getting the mother to suckle another calf and demanded 60 rupees[1] as compensation for the loss of milk which he would suffer till the buffalo had another calf. When he found that I had no intention of paying this sum, he adopted the second device just described, and this expedient was successful.

114 782 796 The *erkumptthpimi* ceremony was first mentioned by Harkness (p. 139), who witnessed the sacrifice. The details of the ceremony which he gives agree in general with those observed by myself. He calls the sacrifice "*yerr-gompts.*" A still more complete account which agrees closely with my own was given by Muzzy in 1844. Breeks mentions the ceremony, as is usual with him, under its Badaga name of *kona shastra*, and his account contains several features which disagree with those of Harkness, Muzzy, and myself.

773 782 796 I could obtain no satisfactory account of the origin of the sacrifice. Teitnir gave me a circumstantial story of the way in which Kwoto or Meilitars induced the gods to eat the flesh of a male calf. Teitnir stated that when Kwoto was visiting the gods in the form of a kite, and before he had tied down the sun (see p. 206), he killed a male calf with exactly the same ceremonial as that practised since, and taking some of the flesh threw it into the midst of the gods, saying, "I have brought the flesh; it is sacred flesh; I have partaken of it, and if your counsel is to be right, you must partake of it." At this the gods were very angry and blamed Kwoto, whereupon he said, "I am not blameworthy; if you blame a man who should not be blamed, why do you not eat flesh which should not be eaten?" Kwoto was then given the task of tying down the sun, and when he succeeded in doing this and had been acknowledged by the gods as their superior, the gods agreed to eat the flesh, and since that time the Todas have sacrificed a male calf, just as Kwoto did, and have eaten the flesh of the calf.

The truth of this account, given by Teitnir, was denied by every other Toda whom I questioned, and I have not therefore included it in the story of Kwoto given in Chap. IX, but

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[1] This estimate included the value of the calf four years hence!

THE KARS PRAYER

This consists of the *kwarzam* of the villages of the Karsol 192
followed by ·*k per mâ*, as in *Mutashkitik per mâ*, but in this 782
case only one *kwarzam* is mentioned for each village. The
following are the *kwarzam* with the corresponding villages 788
in brackets: *Mutashkiti* (Kars), *Karadrners* (Kuzhu), *Kiug-* 621
ners (Keshker), *Külnkars* (Taradrkirsi), *Nersmi* (Nasmiòdr), *Eḍstârs* (Tashtars), *Keiikârs* (Kerkars), *Kuzhârmûdri* (Isharadr), *Pòḍshners* (Pòdzkwar), *Peleiners* (Peletkwur), *Tarskidt*, *Tüli*, *Sing*, *Keitas*. In the last four cases the *kwarzam* and ordinary name of each village are the same. These *kwarzam* are followed by *ekîrzam meidjam*, *Nòtîrzk êr usht mâ*. The place of *karsêram parsêram* in the Kuudr prayer is taken by *ekîrzam meidjam*, the *kwarzam* of Teikirzi, but I do not know how far this is a special feature of the Kars prayer. It may be that the Tartharol have the latter formula. It is remarkable that the Karsol should omit *karsêram parsêram*, for it is the *kwarzam* of their *nòdrodchi*, Kulinkars.

Several of the *kwarzam* of this prayer are those of villages which no longer exist. The prayer thus preserves a record of Toda institutions which have entirely disappeared.

These prayers are also interesting as records of a number of village *kwarzam*. It will be noticed that in many cases there is a considerable degree of resemblance between the ordinary name and the *kwarzam*; in other cases the words are wholly different.

In villages on the west side of the Paikara River the *palikartmokh* says, "*Teikhârsk êr usht mâ*," may the buffalo appear to Teikhars, instead of *Nòtîrzk êr usht mâ* as the last clause. Teikhars is merely another name for Kulinkars. The reason for the modification is probably connected with the fact that the calf would have to cross the sacred Paikara River in order to go to Nòtirzi (Snowdon) on its way to
Kulinkars. 234

I was unable, as usual, to obtain any information from the 782
Todas on the significance of the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony, 789
but the prayer offered before the calf is killed seems to make 796

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 it clear that the idea underlying the ceremony is that of
782 promoting the general welfare of the buffaloes. The actual
789 words of the prayer are directed to bring about an increase
796 to the various villages of the clan, but there is, I think, no doubt that in this prayer, all have the buffaloes especially in mind and that the meaning of the prayer is, "may the buffaloes of . . . increase!" The sacrifice of the calf would seem to be of that kind in which one is killed that the rest may prosper.

There is one feature of the sacrifice which might be held to be out of harmony with this suggestion—viz., that the sacrificed calf is a young male, and hence a comparatively worthless animal. The name of the ceremony means strictly "we kill a male buffalo,"[1] and it is possible that at one time an adult male was sacrificed, but even then the sacrifice would be of an animal comparatively little valued by the Todas. As we shall see, the animals killed at funerals are always female, but there is an obvious reason for this, as the buffaloes are to be of use to the dead person in the other world. Formerly large numbers of buffaloes were killed at funerals, and it is possible that it was found impracticable to use female buffaloes also for the *erkumptthpimi* sacrifice.

There is another possible reason for the use of male buffaloes. The flesh of the sacrificed animal is eaten, and it is possible that the Todas may have preferred to use for this purpose the less sacred male buffaloes, and not to risk any possible evil effects which might follow the consumption of the flesh of the females. It is probable that utilitarian motives have played the chief part in the choice of a male, but other more religious motives may have had some influence.

THE TEUTÜTUSTHCHI CEREMONY

782 This is an annual ceremony in which a fire is lighted at the
796 foot of a hill by the *palol* and *kaltmokh*. The name *teutütusthchi* or *teutütusthtiti* means "god fire he lights." It

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[1] I have some reason to think, however, that *er* may be used as a term for 'buffalo' in general, whether male or female.

173 plentiful, as the additions to the prayer indicate. The Todas
told me that in ancient times they lived largely on wild fruits,
782 nuts, and honey, and that then the ceremony[1] was of great
796 importance. At the present time the Todas in general seem
574 to take but little interest in the occasion, but its former
importance is still shown by the fact that the Sunday and
Tuesday on which the ceremony is performed are among the
chief Toda feast days, when the people of every village eat
the special kind of food which they call *ashkkartpimi*.

OFFERINGS

782 The ceremonies which have been described are sacrifices or
796 offerings which occur at regulated intervals. *Teutütusthchi* is
certainly an annual ceremony, and it is probable that
783 *erkumptthpimi* was also originally an annual ceremony, though
now it may be performed several times in the year. Even
now, however, there seems to be little doubt that on one
occasion in the year this ceremony is regarded as of special
importance.

The ceremonies which remain to be described are of a different nature. They are mostly occasions on which offerings are made to avert or remove misfortune. Some are distinctly of the nature of sin offerings, but are only made when an offence which has been committed has brought some misfortune on the offender. In these cases the object of the offering seems to be propitiatory and to bring about the removal of the misfortune.

In other cases the offering may be made with the object of removing a misfortune which is not due to any fault on the part of the sufferer.

782 The simplest kind of offering is usually spoken of as *kwadr*
kwadrthpimi—*i.e.*, we give *kwadr*. The word *kwadr* probably
234 means gift, but seems now to be often used in the sense of
'fine.' The *kwadr* takes the form of a buffalo. When a
man gives a buffalo in this way it means that he undertakes
not to give or sell the buffalo to anyone and not to kill it at a
funeral. The buffalo is to be allowed to die a natural death,
but so long as it is alive the owner has the full use of the milk

[1] [The Teutütusthchi Ceremony; See pp. 290-291. — Analyst]

given by the animal. The idea of this offering is that the 782 buffalo is given to the gods, according to some, or to the 234 Amatol or people of Amnòdr, according to others. I also heard it spoken of as if the buffalo were given to the man's father or grandfather (*pia*)—*i.e.*, as if it was not given to the Amatol in general, but only to the spirit of the giver's father or grandfather. It is possible that I have confused together two or more separate things, but so far as I could learn these cases resembled one another in that the owner was not allowed to kill or part with the buffalo.

When the man devotes a buffalo in this way he mentions the buffalo by name, saying that he gives it to the gods or to his fathers, and as a sign that he has done so he bows down before an elder and performs the salutation of *kalmelpudithti*.

This offering was made at the funeral of a child at which I was present, when the diviners found that a buffalo about to be killed was of the wrong kind, and said that Kuriolv, the father of the child, should give a buffalo. In this case the diviners said that a special buffalo called Perov was to be given. Kuriolv made a vow to give this buffalo and performed the *kalmelpudithti* salutation to Perner, the grandfather of the dead child. Another example of this offering will be mentioned at the end of this chapter.

IRNÖRTITI TO THE TI

Another kind of offering is to give a buffalo to one of the *ti* 234 dairies. This is called *irnörtiti*, but must be distinguished 782 from another kind of *irnörtiti* to be presently described. A 688 man gives a buffalo to a *ti* when he has committed any offence against the *ti*. In one case in which I have a record of this kind of offering, the cause was the refusal of a man to become *palol* after he had promised to undertake the office. [123] One of the results of my visit to the Todas was a wholesale sentence from the *teuol* that the people were to do *ti irnörtiti* (see p. 310). 234

The Tartharol may sometimes give buffaloes to the herds of 431 a *ti* when they have not committed any offence against the 782 dairy. This is done when the buffaloes of the *ti* have become

234 very few in number, and this offering is also known as
431 *irnörtiti*, and is given with the same ceremonial as when an
782 offence has been committed.

The gift of a buffalo to the *ti* dairy must take place on a Thursday or Sunday. On the morning of the day the man making the offering, who is called the *irnörtpol*, abstains from food and goes to the *ti mad* with a female calf between one and two years of age. He may be accompanied by other men, usually those closely related to him. The men go to the outskirts of the dairy and wait there till the morning business of the dairy is concluded, each man carrying a green stick, either a *kwadrikurs* or *avelashkikurs*. When the *palol* has finished his work he goes towards the men on the outskirts of the dairy, also carrying a stick of the same kind, and as he approaches, the other men drive the calf towards him, and when it reaches the *palol*, he drives it so that it joins the buffaloes of his herd. The *palol* then gives food to the *irnörtpol* and his companions, who eat it on the spot, where they remain till after sunset, when they return home. If the calf given belongs to the *putiir*, it becomes one of the *punir* of the *ti*, but if it is of one of the sacred kinds, *pasthir*, *wursulir*, &c., it joins one of the sacred herds of the *ti*.

IRNÖRTITI, TUNINÖRTITI AND PILINÖRTITI

782 We now come to three kinds of offering, with their atten-
796 dant ceremonial, which are of a much more complex nature.
These are *irnörtiti*, *tuninörtiti* and *pilinörtiti*, in which the
618 offerings are a buffalo calf, a piece of the cloth called *tuni*,
673 and a silver ring respectively. The first two offerings are
made only when one of a certain number of recognised
688 offences has been committed, and in order to bring about the
removal of some misfortune which has befallen the offender.
Pilinörtiti, on the other hand, is usually performed to bring
about the cessation of some ill-fortune which is not due to any
fault on the part of the sufferer, but it may also be done in
expiation of an offence.

One essential feature common to all three offerings is that

the primary divisions of the clan called *kudr* (see p. 542) 782
here become of importance. 796

Nearly every Toda clan is divided into two *kudr*, and the 618
offerings in the three ceremonies always pass from one *kudr*
to the other. The offering which is given by a man of one 673
kudr becomes the property of the members of the other *kudr*. 688
At the present time the *kudr* is of no importance except in connexion with these ceremonies, and, so far as I could learn, it never had any other significance. There are a few clans of recent origin which have no *kudr*, and members of these clans cannot make the offerings. In other clans, one *kudr* has become extinct, and so long as no occasion for these ceremonies should arise, nothing is done to supply the deficiency. As a general rule, it is only when some trouble arises which may require one or other of these ceremonies that a redistribution of the members of the clan is made, and it is decided that one or more of the *pòlm* or smaller sub-divisions of the clan shall be constituted a new *kudr*.

The following are the chief offences for which the *irnörtiti* 234
or *tuninörtiti* ceremonies have to be performed:— 782

(i) Stealing milk, butter, buttermilk, or ghi from the 796
dairy.

(ii) Going to the dairy after having had intercourse with a 673
woman in the day-time. 688

(iii) Quarrelling between people of the same clan on a feast day.

(iv) Quarrelling in the dairy.

(v) Going to the dairy after visiting the seclusion-hut for women (see Chap. XIV).

(vi) Going to the dairy after taking food with a man who has been to the seclusion-hut.

(vii) Going to the dairy after throwing earth at a funeral (see Chap. XV).

(viii) Going to the dairy after chewing tobacco.

(ix) Buying or selling buffaloes on the *madnol* or sacred day of the village or on the *palinol*, the sacred day of the dairy (see Chap. XVII).

(x) Driving buffaloes from one place to another on these days.

782 Going to the buffaloes or touching the buffaloes is an offence
796 of the same rank as going to the dairy.

The general name for all these offences is *paliwörtvichi ;*
● 234 they are all regarded as offences against the dairy.

673 For the first three of the offences it is customary that the
688 *irnörtiti* ceremony shall be performed. For the last seven *tuninörtiti* is more usual. For the fourth offence the punishment varies according to the status of the offender. If he is a *palikartmokh*, he usually has to give the *tuni* only, but if an ordinary man he may be ordered to give a buffalo. It is a far smaller punishment to give a piece of cloth worth about one rupee four annas than to give a buffalo calf, and it would seem therefore that the first three offences are regarded as more serious than the last seven. It would seem also that if a dairyman quarrels in his dairy it is regarded as a less serious offence than in the case of an ordinary man.

[787] The decision as to which ceremony shall be performed rests with the *teuol* or diviner, but although a diviner usually follows the rules I have given, it seems that he may order otherwise, and if he does so I was told that his decision would be followed. I have a very strong impression, however, that if a diviner ordered a man to do *irnörtiti* for one of the more trivial offences, the offender would take further advice and consult another *teuol* before obeying.

There were several other offences for which it was said by some that a man might have to perform *irnörtiti* or *tuninörtiti* ; thus, if a dairyman gave up his office on any but one of the appropriate days of the week he might be ordered to do *irnörtiti*, and the same penalty might be incurred if a man assumed office on a wrong day. Similarly a dairyman might have to perform one of these ceremonies if he spoke to a woman in the day-time, and probably if he broke any other of the laws regulating his conduct or made any serious mistakes in carrying out the ritual of his office. One occasion for *irnörtiti* was said to arise if anyone crossed the Paikara or Avalanche rivers on a Tuesday, Friday, or Saturday, but this is certainly a dead letter at the present time (see p. 418).

There was some difference of opinion about the penalty for buying, selling, or driving buffaloes on the *arpatznol*, or day

on which the father of a man had died. According to one 234
account, the proper penalty for this is that the offender should 688
give a buffalo to his ancestors—*i.e.*, that he should name a 673
buffalo which he would neither kill at a funeral nor sell to
others. 796

In one definite case, however, it appeared that driving buffaloes from one village to another on the *arpatsnol* had been one of the offences for which a man had been ordered to do *irnörtiti*. In this case, however, other faults had been committed, and it is possible that if driving buffaloes on the *arpatsnol* had been the only offence a slighter penalty would have been inflicted. 782

The ceremony of *irnörtiti* was performed thirty years ago after the disappearance of the sacred bells of the Kars *kudrpali*. In this case the diviners were consulted, and they found that the bells had gone away and would not return. It was thought, however, that the *palikartmokh*, Kakarsiolv, might have committed some offence against the dairy, or have made some mistake in the performance of his duties, and it was thought best that he should perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony, though, so far as I could learn, it was not directly prescribed by the diviners.

As we shall see, the *irnörtiti* and *pilinörtiti* ceremonies may have to be performed as expiation for revealing the secret lore of Toda institutions, but this is an innovation in custom for which I am afraid I was indirectly responsible. [123]

It does not seem that the penalties with their attendant 753
ceremonies are inflicted merely because it is known that a 776
man has committed any of the recognised offences. It is 787
only when some misfortune befalls a man which obliges him
to have recourse to the diviners that the ceremonies are 796
performed.

The usual course of events is that a man, his wife, children, or his buffaloes fall ill, or the buffaloes will not give milk or kick their calves, or the milk in the dairy will not coagulate properly. Whenever any of these ills happen the man concludes that for some reason the gods are angry with him and he goes to the diviners to ascertain the cause of their displeasure.

the kind called *kwadrikurs*. A boy goes within the imitation hut with a brass vessel (*achok*), and coming out gives this to the woman, who bows down (*nersatiti*) with her child at the threshold of the imitation hut. She then takes butter and buttermilk which have been placed by the *palikartmokh* on fire-brands (see p. 318). After taking the mixture the woman goes to the dwelling-hut and resumes her ordinary duties. 846

It is the custom for everyone present on this occasion[1] to give the child a four-anna piece (*panm*), and near relatives may often give more. A small loincloth (*tadrp*) provided with a pocket called *[illegible]rigs* is put round the child, and into this pocket the money is put, this action receiving the name of *terigs katpimi*, or "we tie the *terigs*." I did not hear of this pocket in any other ceremonies, and, so far as I know, it is only made in the *tadrp* used on this occasion, or if a constant feature of the *tadrp*, it has no other ceremonial use. So far as I am aware, the representation of a house is only used by the Teivaliol, while the imitation dairy made on going to the seclusion-hut after hand-burning and childbirth is only made by the Tartharol. [431]

It is tempting to suppose that the water poured in these ceremonies from an imitation dairy vessel over the back of a calf is regarded as milk, and if this is so, the drinking of milk, real or fictitious, would be the essential feature of all these ceremonies. Further, the conjecture is natural that the drinking is designed to promote the formation and flow of milk in the woman. It is perhaps in favour of this that in the ceremony after childbirth, when this motive would be especially important, the water is poured over the hind-quarters of the calf and not over the middle of its back, as in the earlier ceremony. But if the promotion of lactation is the leading motive of the ceremonies, it is difficult to see why a buffalo in full milk should not have been chosen instead of a two-year-old calf. 846 234 853 788

It is possible that there is some reason why an adult buffalo should not be used on such an occasion, and that a calf is used as a substitute, and, on the whole, the view that some features of the ceremonies had their origin in the motive

[1] [The ceremony after childbirth -- Analyst]

846 suggested is the most probable one ; but this can only be con-
234 jecture, for it is, I think, quite clear that the ceremonies have
now become purely ritual, and are performed with no other
853 reason than that they are prescribed by custom.

788 The use of an artificial dairy among the Tartharol, however,
174 has almost certainly a deeper meaning. It is a striking fact that a pregnant woman and one soon after childbirth should have relations with a dairy, even if only artificial, when in ordinary life they have nothing to do with it or its ceremonial. Still more remarkable is the fact that a Tarthar woman after childbirth puts round her waist threads from the garment worn only by dairymen, a garment which has a distinctly sacred character. If this were done only in the case of a male child, it might be supposed that the idea is one of initiation into the life connected with the dairy, but the artificial dairy after the hand-burning ceremony is made when the sex of the child is unknown, and, so far as my information goes, the use of the dairy and the threads from the *tuni* occurs after the birth of either a boy or girl. It is possible that the ceremonial observances are relics of a time when women had more to do with the dairy and its ritual than they have at present ; or it may be that contact with the sacred objects, real or fictitious, is held to neutralise in some way the dangerous nature of pregnant and parturient women.

There is some reason to believe that the material of which the *tuni* is made is the same as that of the ancient clothing of the Todas, the cloth called *än*. As we shall see later, the *än* is still used in the funeral ceremonies, and it is possible that the threads of *tuni* are used in these ceremonies as relics of the ancient clothing of the Todas, and that they are obtained from the *madtuni* because it is the most convenient way of obtaining the ancient material. If this had been the motive, however, I think the word *än* would almost certainly have been used, as it still is in the funeral ceremonies. Nevertheless, this remains as a possible alternative explanation of the use of a sacred dairy garment by a woman after childbirth.

000 A further mysterious feature of these ceremonies is that

left standing after the funeral and may be used on a second 349
occasion if it has not fallen into too great disorder. 764

Five clans of the Tartharol possess special dairies, each with
three rooms which are used as funeral huts. These buildings 343
are habitually or occasionally used as dairies; but when a 234
man of the clan dies his body is laid in the outermost of the three rooms, either on the day of the funeral or for two or three days before it. While a dead body is lying in the dairy, women are allowed to enter the outermost room just as they may go into any other funeral hut, but they may not pass beyond. Men are allowed to enter the middle room, but the innermost room is only entered by the dairyman, who carries on his dairy work as usual.

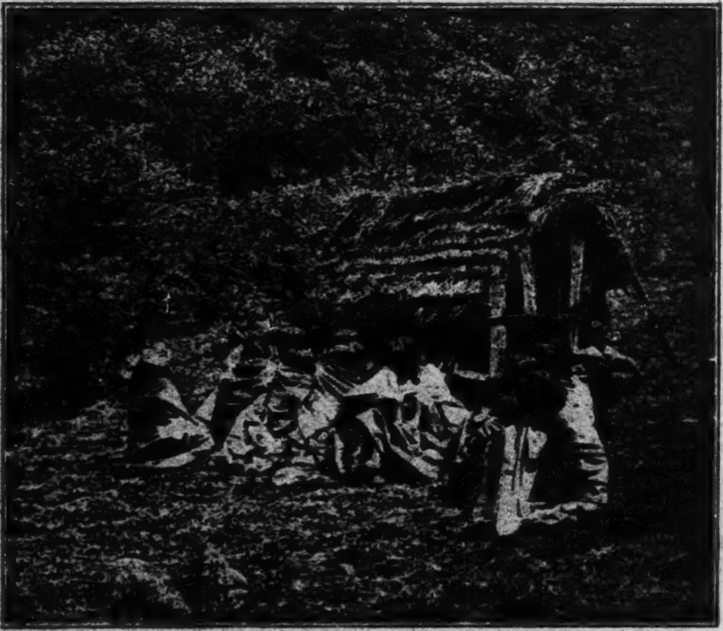

FIG. 48.—FUNERAL HUT ROUND WHICH WOMEN ARE LAMENTING. SEVERAL PAIRS ARE PRESSING THEIR FOREHEADS TOGETHER. THE HUT IS NOT WITHIN A STONE CIRCLE, SHOWING THAT THE FUNERAL IS NOT BEING HELD AT AN OLD FUNERAL PLACE.

349 The five villages at which these three-roomed dairies now
343 exist are Nòdrs, Taradrkirsi (Kars), Keradr, Tim (Pan), and
Akirsikòdri (Nidrsi). At Taradr a temporary funeral hut with
764 three rooms is constructed within a circle of stones near the
234 village. In the outermost room of this hut the corpse is placed, and women may only enter this room, while men may enter both outer and middle rooms as in the three-roomed dairies. In the innermost room the *palikartmokh* of the village places a vessel of the kind called *mu*, and he only is allowed to enter this room.

This temporary building is almost certainly the representative of a three-roomed dairy which at one time existed at this village; and it is probable that at other male Tarthar funeral places the funeral hut should be made with three rooms, though at present this is not done.

In every case the funeral hut which receives the body of a man is called *pali*, or dairy, and it is probable that at one time among the Tartharol it was the universal custom to place the body of a man in a dairy before the last rites. It is possible that the stone circle within which the funeral hut is built is the representative of the wall surrounding a dairy which formerly existed on the spot. Among the Teivaliol the funeral hut is also called *pali*, but there is no instance among them of an actual dairy being used to receive the dead.

349 At the funeral place of women a hut is specially built for
764 the reception of the body, but it is always burnt down after each funeral. This hut is called *ars*, or house, and has a different name for each ceremony, being called *uersars* for the first funeral, and *kùrsars* for the second. Each kind of hut is constructed within a circle of stones, and the name seems to indicate that at one time the body of a woman was placed in the house of the village. Here again the stone circle may possibly be the representative of an actual house which once existed at the funeral place.

766 If, for any reason, the funeral of a person is not being held at the proper place, the funeral hut is not constructed within the circle of stones; thus at the funeral of a girl, Sinerani (see p. 392), the hut was placed by the side of the stone circle

763 been bedecked. In this case, it was said that he would be permitted to carry the ornaments till his death. Marshall also states that the relatives give the dying man milk to drink when on the point of death.

764 437 After death the body should be wrapped in a dark cloth called *än*, which is of the same material as the *tuni* worn by the *palol* and other dairymen, and, like the *tuni*, is procured from the Badagas of Jakaneri. It is doubtful, however, whether this custom of enwrapping the body in the *än* is now kept up with any regularity. Outside the *än* should be an ornamented mantle (*pukuruputkuli*) and then a mantle of the ordinary kind.

764 The body of a woman is kept in the hut in which she has died till the day of the funeral, and, with special exceptions, this is also done with the bodies of men.

When a man dies at the village of Nòdrs, his body is taken into the three roomed *tarvali* and placed on the right-hand bed (*meitün*) of the outermost room. While the body is lying here, the building is still used as a dairy, but women are allowed to enter the outermost room except when the *palikartmokh* is actually engaged in the business of the dairy. [234] It is only when it is being used as a funeral hut that women [562] are ever allowed to enter a dairy, and then they may only sit on the left-hand bed—the *kitün*.

On the day appointed for the *etvainolkedr*, the body is carried to the funeral place. In some cases certain ceremonies are performed at the village at which the death has taken place; thus, at Kars, the body of a man is first laid in front of the *kudrpali* and then on one of the two eminences called *imudrikars* (see Fig. 21), which stand near the dairy, and from this it is taken to the other *imudrikars*, and after lying here for a while it is borne to the special funeral village of Taradrkirsi. At Kuzhu, another village of the Karsol, the body is taken from the hut and laid by the side of the stone called *menkars*; then it is taken to a stone called *imudrikars* in front of the *kudrpali*, and laid with the head at the stone and the feet towards the dairy. A buffalo of the ordinary kind (*putiir*) is then milked; the milk is put into a vessel and from this poured into a leaf cup of *kakud* leaves, and

THE SLAUGHTER OF THE BUFFALOES.

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764

The next stage in the proceedings is the catching and killing of the buffalo or buffaloes. At the present time the Todas are only permitted by the Government to kill two of these animals, and if the family of the dead person is poor only one may be killed. At the funeral of a man it is customary that one of the animals killed shall be an ordinary buffalo (*putiir*) and the other a sacred buffalo; one of the *pasthir* in the case of the Teivaliol, and usually one of the *wursulir* in the case of the Tartharol. At least one sacred buffalo must be killed at one or other funeral ceremony for every man, but this may be done either at the *etvainol-* or the *marvainolkedr*. Sacred buffaloes are only killed at the funerals of men, never at those of women.

When it was the custom to slaughter more than two buffaloes, there was often a rule that these should be of certain kinds; thus, at Nòdrs, it was once the custom to kill seven buffaloes at a man's funeral—viz., two *wursulir*, two *putiir*, and one each of the following kinds: *nashperthir*, *pineipir*, and *persasir*.

If the family possess no sacred buffalo, they must procure one by exchange, and it is customary to give two ordinary buffaloes for one of the sacred kind.

There is a definite spot appointed for the slaughter of each kind of buffalo. The ordinary buffalo is usually killed near the funeral hut, and sometimes there is a stone marking the spot at which the animal is to die. The *wursulir* are killed at a place usually marked by a stone called *teiks*. In cases where there is no stone the spot is marked by a wooden post (see Fig. 51), which has the same name, and I was told that it should be made of teak.[1]

In some cases there are other appointed stones or unmarked spots where buffaloes of other kinds are slaughtered; thus, at Nòdrs there are seven stones, at each of which a

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[1] If the word *teiks* is the same as that of teak wood it would make it probable that the buffalo was formerly killed by the side of a wooden post and that the use of a stone is secondary.

234 buffalo used to be killed, and the people of Pan have two
764 stones called *teiks*, one for each division of the clan.

The catching of the buffalo is one of the most exciting incidents of a Toda funeral. When only one or two buffaloes are to be killed it is usual to take about four buffaloes from the village of the dead person to the neighbourhood of the funeral place. When the preliminary ceremonies are over, all those who are attending the funeral move towards the place at which the buffaloes are standing, while several of their number are chosen to catch the appointed animal or animals. At the same time, the buffaloes, which are usually standing in some hollow so that they cannot be seen from the funeral place, are driven towards the people. As soon as they appear the appointed men drop their cloaks and race to meet the buffaloes. The buffaloes are driven on from behind in a more vigorous manner than that to which they are accustomed, are more or less infuriated, and often rush wildly about in their efforts to

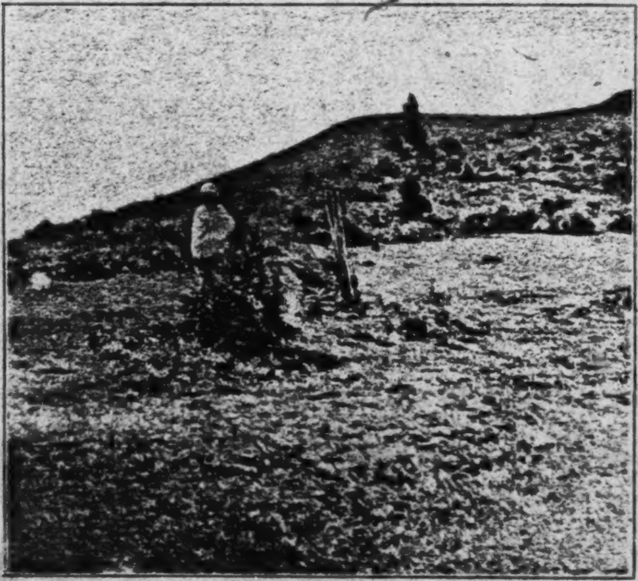

FIG. 51.—THE WOODEN 'TEIKS' AT INIKITJ.

avoid the racing Todas, one of whom succeeds in catching 234
the appointed animal, seizing it by the horns, and then 764
hangs round its neck with one hand and seizes the
cartilage of the nose with the other. Another of the men
seizes a horn and also hangs round the neck of the animal, and
both men put their whole weight on the neck of the buffalo
and bear it to the ground. Often they are carried many
yards before they succeed in getting the infuriated animal
under control, and when catching the horns they are sometimes
severely gored, though this rarely happens now, and I
could hear of no case in which there had been fatal consequences.

The men who are appointed to catch the buffalo belong to 555
the Tartharol at a Teivali funeral and to the Teivaliol at a 616
Tarthar funeral. They are usually chosen from among
the younger and more agile of the community, but at an 764
important funeral the older and more experienced men may 541
undertake the duty. The catching of the buffalo is critically
watched, and some men have acquired great reputations for
the adroitness with which they perform the feat.

I have some reason to think that it is the custom to catch 234
the buffaloes at different places at the funerals of males
and females (see p. 393), but my information on this point is 764
not satisfactory.

The captured buffalo has next to be led to the spot appointed for its slaughter. The people of both divisions drive the animal, beating it with sticks, while the course taken by the animal is directed by the two men hanging on its horns and round its neck. The buffalo is beaten much more vigorously than ever happens on ordinary occasions, and it has seemed to many who have watched a Toda funeral that this vigorous beating must have some significance, and the idea of vicarious punishment is naturally suggested. I could obtain no information from the people on this point, and I am doubtful whether the beating means more than that, under the exceptional conditions, the animal requires much more vigorous driving than usual. Ordinarily the buffalo follows out its daily routine with little interference; it goes to its usual pasture, and, as I have seen myself, it

234 may return to the dairy of its own accord at the proper
764 time.

At one funeral at which I was present the buffalo was so alarmed or so infuriated by the proceedings that it lay down and absolutely refused to move, and the efforts of all present were insufficient to drag the animal to the slaughtering place. This incident will be described more fully later, but I mention it here to show that it may often be difficult to drive the buffalo, and that the unaccustomed vigour with which the animal is beaten may have a natural and not a ceremonial reason.

234 Before the buffalo is killed two things have still to be done.
764 A bell or its substitute has to be hung on the neck of the buffalo, and butter rubbed on its back, head and horns.

778 If one of the *wursulir* is to be killed there is hung on its neck the sacred bell called *mani*, while the ordinary buffalo or *putiir* is given only the *kwungg* or household bell. A *mani* may also be used for the varieties of sacred buffalo called *nashperthir*, *persasir*, &c. Probably at one time there was a *mani* for each kind, but some of the sacred bells have been lost, and it is only in some clans that a bell can now be used. Those clans which have no *mani* do not use an ordinary bell, but they tie the sacred buffalo to the *teiks* by means of a piece of the creeper called *kakhudri*, about two yards in length. This is the case with all the Teivaliol except the people of Piedr and with the Melgarsol among the Tartharol. The *kakhudri* is said to be used in place of the *mani*.

The details as to the use of the *mani* differ somewhat in different clans. The Nòdrs people have two *mani*, called Kòdj and Kagur, which are now kept at Òdr. When a Nòdrs man dies these bells are fetched from Òdr by the *wursol* and one is hung on the neck of one of the *mersgursir* and the other on the neck of one of the *nashperthir*.[1] After the *etvainòlkedr* these bells are kept outside the conical dairy at Nòdrs in a special hole in a stone called *karsalb*. The people of Kars similarly take their *mani* to Taradrkirsi for the

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[1] Owing to the fact that the Nòdrs people do not kill both of these kinds of buffalo at one funeral at the present time, they now only bring one of the two bells from Òdr.

234 764 first funeral and keep it there till the funeral ceremonies are completed.

778 Among the Teivaliol the Piedrol are the only clan to possess a *mani*, which is called Kerâni. It is kept in a wood or *shola* near the funeral place and lies in an earthenware pot buried in the ground. At the funeral of a Piedr man the bell is hung on the neck of a buffalo belonging to the *kudeipir* (the special name for the *pasthir* of this clan). It is dug up by the Teivali *palikartpol* and given by him to a Nòdrs man, who ties it on the neck of the buffalo. The Nòdrs man chosen for this office must bathe on the morning of this day and must go without food till after the funeral.

234 764 618 Just before the buffalo is killed butter is smeared on the back of the animal, on the horns and on the part of the head between the horns. This should be done by a man of the same clan as the dead person.

The killing of the buffalo is called *írkípti*. It is done by striking the animal on the head with the back of an axe (*masth*). The animal is usually killed by one blow, though in some cases more are necessary. The *wursulir* are killed by the *wursol* and the ordinary buffaloes by men of the same division as the deceased, but of a different clan. Certain clans appear to have a prescriptive right to kill the buffalo; thus, among the Teivaliol, a Kuudr man kills at the funerals of members of all other clans, while at the funeral of a Kuudr man a member of one of the other clans performs this function. Among the Tartharol, the members of the Nòdrs and Kars clans appear to occupy the most privileged position, but the relations are more complicated than among the Teivaliol. At a Kars funeral the ordinary buffalo is killed by a man of Nòdrs, Taradr or Pan. At a funeral of a member of any of these three clans, a Kars man kills. At funerals in other clans, the buffalo is usually killed by men either of Kars or Nòdrs, but in the case of a Kwòdrdoni funeral, it seemed that the killing might also be done by a man of Päm or Nidrsi. Each buffalo is killed at the appointed stone or post, and the *teiks* at which the *wursulir* are killed is at some distance from the funeral hut, and a woman is not allowed to approach the spot lest she should see the sacred bell.

234 Though there is no definite landmark for the killing of the 764 *putiir*, each buffalo is killed at an appointed spot; thus, at the funeral of Sinerani (see p. 392), the buffalo at the *etvainolkedr* was killed on the left-hand side of the funeral hut.

As soon as the buffalo is felled, the corpse is brought up and placed by the head of the dying animal (Fig. 53). At the funeral of a man, the covering of the body is unfolded and the right hand of the dead man is made to clasp one of the horns. At the funeral of a woman, the body is laid with its feet by the mouth of the buffalo.[1] At the funeral of a Pan man, Kwoten's ring is placed on the finger of the deceased before his hand is made to clasp the horn. Then the men present come to the buffalo and salute it by bowing down and placing their foreheads on the horns and on the head between the horns.

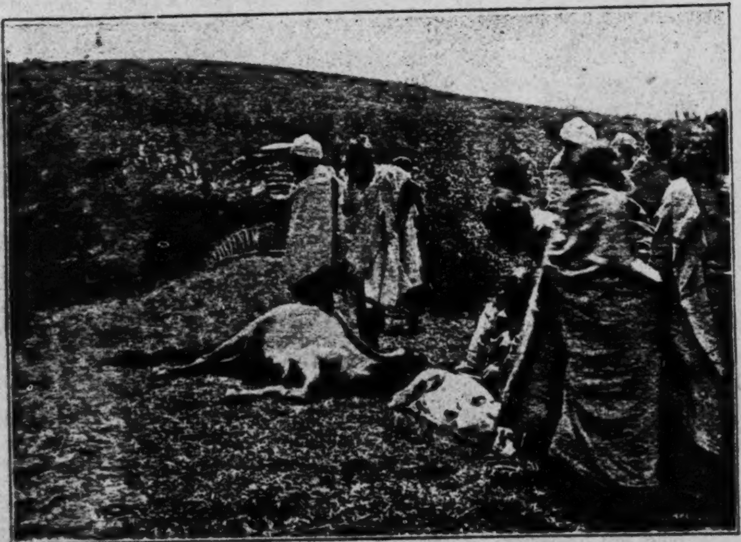

FIG. 53.—THE CORPSE BY THE HEAD OF THE DYING BUFFALO.

234 764 765 The people then group themselves round the buffalo and corpse and cry together by placing forehead to forehead so that their tears and cries mingle. In the case of the sacred

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[1] Some observers have stated that the feet of the corpse are placed within the mouth of the buffalo, but I could not confirm this.

234 buffalo, wearing the *mani*, this circle is composed of men only.
764 The lament[1] usually consists in calling first the name of the
765 buffalo and then speaking of the dead person, not by his name, but by the term expressing the bond of kinship between the lamenter and the dead. Thus at a funeral at which the buffalo killed was called Pundrs, one man would cry:

“ *Pundrsia, en potch aia ivanersia, en potch aia*
O Pundrs, O my father.

I could not ascertain the meaning of *ivanersia*, except that its latter part is the word for buffalo with the vocative termination ‘*ia*.’

For a son, a man would cry after the name of the buffalo, “*en mokh ûpa*”; for an elder brother, “*en potch anna*”; and similarly for other relatives. For a wife a man would cry “*iza kughia*,” and for a husband a woman cries “*iza mokhia*” (*iza* is merely exclamatory).

It might appear from the form of lamentation that the buffalo itself was regarded as the father, son, &c., of the lamenter, and I could not satisfy myself as to what the people really had in their minds when they were lamenting in this way. It has been supposed that the lamentation is for the slaughtered buffalo, and I am unable positively to say that this is not the case. It is probable that the people grieve for the departure of one of their much-loved buffaloes, but I do not think that there is any decisive evidence that they are lamenting for the buffalo rather than for the dead person.

764 Within the group of mourners there is much going hither
765 and thither. After two people have mourned together for a while they separate, and each seeks a new partner with whom
576 to lament. When separating, the salutation of *kalmelpudithti* often takes place, and, as in general, it is the younger of each pair who bows down his head and raises each foot of the other so that it touches his forehead. It seemed to be the duty of everyone to salute certain of the older men in this way; and round these men there would be a continual coming and going, each person saluting by placing his head beneath the feet of the elder. At times the band of mourners would

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[1] More elaborate laments are given on pp. 385–8.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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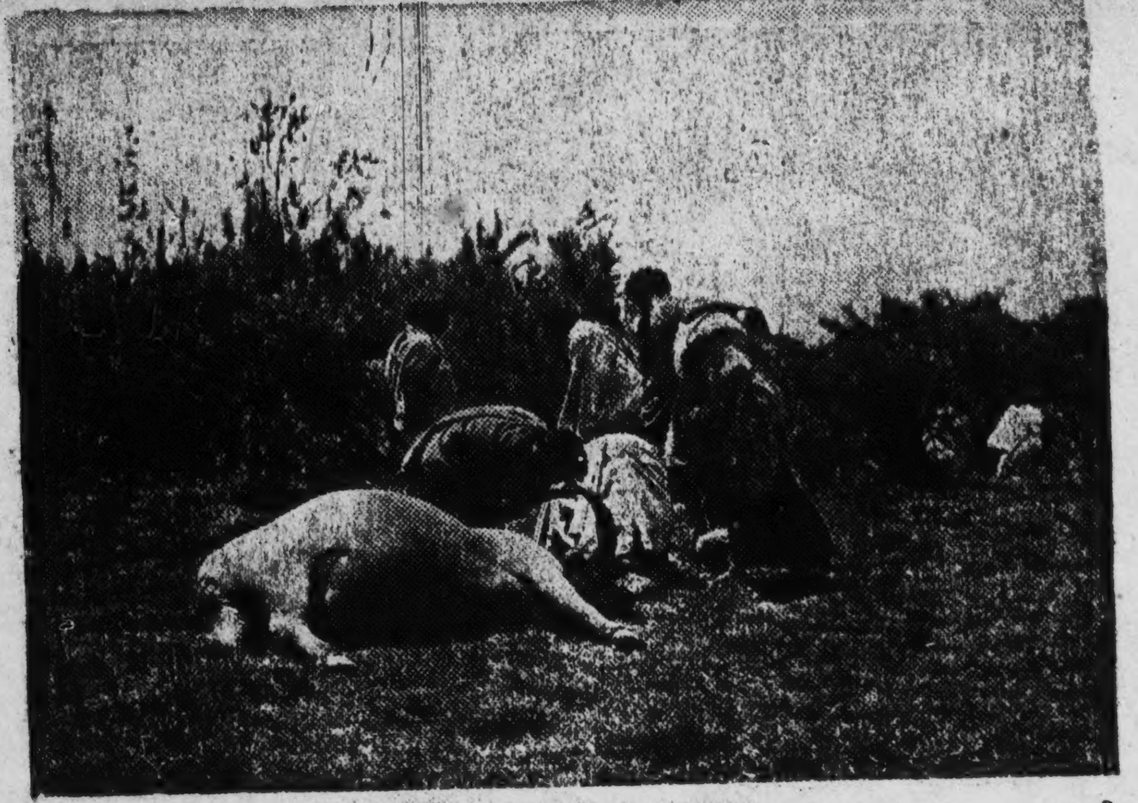

FIG. 54.—SALUTING THE DEAD BUFFALO.

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765 When a man crosses the Paikara or Avalanche rivers he must usually do so *kevenarut*, with his right arm outside his mantle, but if he has the mantle over his head as a sign of mourning he merely protrudes his right hand, so that it can be seen below the mantle. Similarly, the throwing of water done by *matchuni* (see p. 501), when they cross these rivers on certain days, is not done by people of a family in which there has been a death—*i.e.*, not between the two funerals—but they only chew the grass, which is the preliminary act of the ceremony.

[769] The mourner who has his head covered has certain restrictions in regard to his food. A widower is not allowed to eat rice nor drink milk, and on every return of the day of the week on which his wife died he takes no food in the morning and only has his evening meal. The same holds good for a widow. This fasting on each weekly return of the day of death suggests that some rite is, or used to be, performed on this day, but I did not obtain an account of any such ceremony. The day of the week on which a man dies is always observed by his children, and is called *arpatsnol*.

234 764 773 The *wursol* who attends to kill the sacred buffalo loses his office by so doing, and becomes a *perol*. Similarly, if a *palol*, *wursol*, or *kaltmokh* wish to attend the funeral of a relative, he can only do so by giving up his office, and this is a common cause of change in the various dairies. The dairyman who has thus given up his office often resumes it when the funeral ceremonies are completed, and if he expresses his intention of returning, the temporary occupant is often said to be doing the work for the other.

765 Between the two funerals it is the duty of every Toda who was not present at the *etvainolkedr* to salute the remains. When anyone visits the village where the remains are kept for this purpose the cloth containing the relics is brought out and the visitor bows down and touches the cloth with his forehead, just as is done with the body at the funeral. When I visited the village at which the *kedr* of Olidjeimi was being kept my Toda guide took the opportunity of performing his duty to the remains, and I was able to witness the reverent way in which the duty is performed. While I was on the

etvainolkedr. At the funerals of Teivaliol the buffaloes are 765
caught by Tartharol and killed by Teivaliol of a clan different to that of the deceased. At the funerals of the Tartharol the buffaloes are caught by Teivaliol, and killed by the *wursol* or by a Tarthar man of a different clan, according as they are of the sacred or ordinary kind.

As the buffalo dies, the *narskedr* is brought up and laid by the head of the animal, and the lamenting and saluting take place around the buffalo and the remains, exactly as at the first funeral.

Sometimes a ceremony occurs immediately before the buffalo is caught. A man takes a ring of the creeper called *kakkudri* and throws it at one of the driven buffaloes. It should fall on the horns or neck of one of the buffaloes, but it does not matter whether on a buffalo which is to be killed or on another.

This throwing of the creeper, which is called *kakkudri erspimi*, or *kudri erspimi*,[1] "we throw the creeper," is done by the *wursol* at a Tarthar funeral, while at the funeral of the Teivaliol it is done by a *palikartmokh* of the same clan as the deceased. This ceremony used not to be performed at those funerals which lasted two days, when the buffaloes were shut into a pen on one day and killed on the next, but it should always be performed when the funeral ceremonies are limited to one day. It seems possible that the circular ring of creeper may be intended to represent the act of putting the animals in the circular pen, but the Todas could give me no information on this point. It seemed clear that it is only done at those funerals in which the buffaloes are not put into the pen.

THE KOOTITI CEREMONY

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Among the Tartharol, with the exception of the people of
Melgars, a ceremony is performed at the funeral of a male 765
which is called *kootiti*. In this ceremony blood is used which 177
in the present day is drawn from one of the slaughtered
buffaloes, but formerly a special buffalo was killed for this 783
purpose.

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[1] *Kudri* is the generic word for creeper.

765 According to the old custom the buffaloes were killed about
234 four o'clock in the afternoon. About an hour later another
177 buffalo of the ordinary kind was brought to the funeral place
783 and killed by striking it on the head with a stone, and not
with the back of an axe, as in the case of the other buffaloes. It might be killed by any Tarthar man, and then the *wursol* made a cut in the right side of the animal at the part called *kegampkwúdr* (over the ribs near the forelegs). The blood which ran from the wound was received into a cup made of *tudr* leaves, and powdered *tudr* bark was mixed with the blood in the cup. It is to this part of the ceremony that the name *kodtiti* ("blood he takes") is properly applied. At the present time the blood is drawn from one of the buffaloes killed in the ordinary course of the ceremony. However the blood may be obtained, the next step is to bring a female buffalo calf less than one year old. The mantle with which the remains have been covered is taken off, and is worn by a Teivali man who has adorned himself with many ornaments, including those ordinarily worn by women, such as the chain (*tagars*), necklace (*keiveli*), earrings (*kevthveli*), and bracelet (*pulthi*). He also holds a long pole called *tadri*. The remains, which are now covered with a loincloth (*tadrp*) only, are carried by two women to the place where the calf is standing.

The *wursol* and Teivali man then walk to the calf, the former throwing before and behind him as he walks the mixed blood and *tudr* bark from the cup. When the *wursol* comes to the calf he throws down the leaf cup, and the Teivali man then hangs on the neck of the calf a bell of the kind called *tukulir mani*, and, taking a bow and arrow in his hand, he says three times to the Tartharol, "*purs adikina?*"—"Shall I touch with the bow?" Each time the Tartharol reply, "*Purs ad!*" The Teivali man then touches the remains with the bow and arrow. He puts down the *tadri* on the ground, and the calf is driven away from the spot on which it had been standing. As soon as it begins to move all present, Tartharol and Teivaliol, cry out, "*ua! ua!*" and fall down and touch the earth with their foreheads. The bell is then removed from the calf, which is not killed, but is allowed to go free.

burial-place three times ringing the bell, while another man 765 goes with him holding him by the waist. The man who rings the bell then takes a new pot, ordinarily used for carrying water, and, raising it over his head, brings it down and breaks it on the stone covering the ashes. He bows down and touches the stone with his forehead, gets up, and goes away to the funeral hut without looking back toward the *asaram*. All the others present bow down to the stone in the same way and go away from the spot without looking back. The ceremony of bell-ringing and stone-saluting is called *kwungg tûki kârs persatiti*, "bell lift, stone he salutes."

At the funeral of a woman, the bell is rung and the pot broken by her husband or by one of his brothers if he be dead. If it is the husband, he will have been wearing the cloak over his head[1] up to this time, and he takes it off just before he bows down to salute the stone. At the funeral of her husband, a widow will similarly remove the cloak from her head before she salutes the stone.

After saluting at the *asaram*, all go to the funeral hut, where they take food, having fasted during the night. Each person cuts a lock of hair from the head as a sign of mourning and then all return home.

At the funeral of a woman, the funeral hut is burnt before the people leave, this being called *ars pon atipimi*, "house up we send." It is the duty of the woman who first lighted the *asaramtüt* to set fire to the hut.

The foregoing account of the second funeral ceremonies is 234 that of the proceedings at the present time. When the 541 *marvainolkedr* was prolonged over two days, the proceedings of the first day opened with the capture of the buffaloes, 765 which were put in the pen, and then followed a scene in which the Todas entered the pen, flourishing heavy clubs. The animals were belaboured and driven round and round the pen, and at intervals several men would catch and hold down a buffalo. According to some accounts the bells were hung round the necks of the buffaloes during this performance, but at a funeral witnessed by Mr. Walhouse[2] this was not done, and he believed that the

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[1] See p. 365.

[2] *Ind. Antiq.*, 1874, vol. iii. p 35.

234 object of the fray was that the men might exhibit their
agility and skill. There is little doubt, however, that the bells
541 were put on the buffaloes at some time on this day. The
765 remainder of the first day was occupied with dancing, singing,
and feasting. On the second day, the proceedings began again in the middle of the day with more dances and with a repetition of the driving and catching within the pen. In the afternoon, after the earth-throwing ceremony, the buffaloes, now wearied and subdued, were dragged from the pen and killed, and then followed the ceremonies which have already been described.

765 At the funeral witnessed by Mr. Walhouse, part of the
second day was occupied by the proceedings of a diviner,
787 and divination seems to be a frequent feature of funerals,
627 having been also seen both by Mr. Thurston and myself.
In the latter case, the occasion of the divination arose directly out of the proceedings, but it is probable that the gatherings are used as opportunities of consulting the gods on other matters. A funeral may also be used as an occasion for settling disputes, especially those which concern the people especially connected with the funeral.

FUNERAL LAMENTS

533 At some stage in both funeral ceremonies laments for the
539 dead may be sung or said which consist of sentences praising
the virtues of the deceased and recounting incidents of his or
765 her life. To these sentences the same term *kwarzam* is
applied which is used for the words and clauses of the prayers. I am not certain at what stage of the proceedings the recital of these laments takes place, but it is certainly after the killing of the buffaloes, probably in many cases during the general wailing round the buffalo and the remains. At the second funeral of a male, however, I believe that the lament is recited during the dancing.

I did not succeed in obtaining any examples during my visit, but soon after my departure Samuel sent me two laments, one composed by Teitnir (52) and uttered by him at the second funeral ceremony for his wife Tersveli. The

the midst of barren buffaloes you went; you caught the 533
throats of the buffaloes; you ran first and caught the 539
buffaloes before the chosen men; well you danced and 765
shouted finely; you invented new things. To-day for the last time I saw your face. Has the angel of death come to you? I see nothing but ashes in your burning-place. In your *azaram* place I see nothing but grass growing."

PURIFICATION CEREMONIES

Certain further ceremonies are performed about the time of 234
the first new moon after the *marvainolkedr*. 783

At one or both of the funerals of a Tarthar man a sacred
buffalo will have been killed by the *wursol* and the sacred 793
bell (*mani*) will have been used. By his acts at the funeral 765
the *wursol* loses his office, and by its use on the same occasion 778
the *mani* is defiled. On the day before the new moon following the funeral all the things in the dairy of the *wursol* are thrown away. Either a new dairyman is appointed and goes through the usual rites, or the old *wursol* is re-appointed and has to repeat his ordination ceremonies. This is done on the Sunday after the new moon, which is the proper day for the ordination of a *wursol*, exactly the same ceremonies being performed as those described in Chapter VII. The old *wursol* puts the *mani* in the dairy stream (*pali nipa*), and if he is not re-appointed, his duties then cease. The new *wursol*, or the old *wursol* who has undergone new ordination ceremonies, takes the *mani* from the stream and purifies it by rubbing it all over with pounded *tudr* bark and water. He then takes the bell to the dairy, which is now empty, finds a new stick on which to hang it, and puts both stick and bell in their proper place on the *patatmar*. Then the new dairy vessels are purified and put in their places in the usual manner.

This purification of the dairy is not done by the Teivaliol, and seems to be only necessary when the *mani* and the dairyman who looks after it have been defiled by the funeral ceremonies. In the case of the Nòdrsòl, the *mani* between the two funeral ceremonies is kept at Nòdrs, and is taken back to Òdr on the Sunday after the new moon following the

234 second funeral, and it is at Òdr that the purification takes
765 place.
Similarly the Kars *mani* is returned from Taradrkirsi to
783 Kars on this day. I was told that the *pepkaricha* ceremony
793 of making new *pep* is performed after the funeral of a man
among the Tartharol, and it seems as if this new appointment
778 of a dairyman and this use and purification of new dairy
vessels are regarded as a form of the *pepkaricha* ceremony.

Another ceremony which takes place after the *marvainolkedr* is designed to purify the places used during the funeral rites and especially the *azaram*. This ceremony is called *kertnòdrkarchpimi*, "funeral place we purify," or *mutnolnòdrvusthpimi*, "new moon day place (or ceremony) we keep." On the day of the new moon following the second funeral two men of the same clan as the deceased take a buffalo in the early morning from the pen to a spot about half a mile from the village. They wait there till about eleven o'clock, and then kill the buffalo by striking it on the head with a stone. They draw blood from one side of the animal and mix the blood with earth in a basket. The Teivaliol and Melgarsol add *tudr* bark to the earth and blood. The mixture is then taken to the funeral places and scattered over the spots where the buffalo was caught and killed, where the dead body or the *narskedr* had lain at the two funerals, at the *mathkudi* and the *azaram*. If the places for the *etvainol-* and *marvainol-kedr* are different and far distant from one another, the spots used at the former may be omitted, but the most important place which must always be purified in this way is the *azaram*. In any case this place is the last to be purified, and the men then throw away the basket and go straight back to their village, where they bathe and take food, having fasted till this time.

This ceremony is only performed after the funerals of males. The buffalo killed is called the *nòdrvusthpir*. The Teivaliol and Melgarsol use a male buffalo calf for the purpose; the Tartharol, other than the Melgarsol, use an adult female buffalo.

No use is made of the flesh of the animal; the body is left where it falls and is not given to the Kotas.

There is no doubt that the buffaloes killed at the funeral 764
are supposed to go to Amnòdr with the dead person. Sacred 234
buffaloes are only killed at the funerals of men, for they 782
would be useless to women, who, in the next world as in this,
have nothing to do with dairies at which the sacred buffaloes 775
must be tended. There is no evidence that the slaughter of buffaloes is in any way a propitiatory sacrifice, and there seems to be a very marked absence of anything resembling prayer or other forms of appeal to higher powers in the funeral ceremonies.[1]

Dairymen take part in the funeral ceremonies, but chiefly 764
in connexion with the sacred buffaloes. The highest kind 234
of dairyman, the *palol,* has no duties whatever, and loses his
office if he takes part merely as a visitor. At Tarthar funerals 793
the *wursol* has important duties, chiefly connected with the 778
sacred buffaloes and with the *mani*, which is hung round their necks. He also takes the chief part in the *kòdtiti* and accompanying ceremonies of the second funeral, probably because the sacred *tudr* bark is used. In one rite there is no obvious reason why the *wursol* should play a part—viz., in that of throwing earth. As this ceremony, however, is of especial importance, it suggests that formerly dairymen may have had more to do with funeral ceremonies than is the case at present.

Among the Teivaliol, the *palikartmokh* has less important functions. He probably kills the sacred buffaloes, though on this point I am not certain. Only one Teivali clan possesses a *mani* which is used at a funeral, and it is noteworthy that, though the bell is removed from its hiding place (see p. 354) by the *palikartmokh,* it is taken to the funeral and hung on the neck of the buffalo by a Tarthar man belonging to the Nòdrs clan.

The facts that the *wursol* takes part in the funerals of 764
men; that sacred buffaloes are killed; that dairies are used 234
in these funerals, and that the funeral hut of a man is always 793

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[1] Several of those who have witnessed Toda funerals have noticed that barren buffaloes are killed on these occasions, and I believe that it is a recognised custom to use such animals. Pidrvan's funeral lament begins with a reference to barren buffaloes, and the clause, "in the midst of barren buffaloes you went," evidently refers to Pidrvan's skill in catching buffaloes at the funeral ceremonies.

764 called *pali* or dairy, even when built for the occasion, all bring
234 the funeral ceremonies of men into connexion with the reli-
793 gious dairy ceremonial of the Todas. On the other hand, even in those cases in which a dairy is used as a funeral hut, the dairyman of that dairy has nothing to do with the funeral ceremonies; thus, at Nòdrs the dairy in which the body of a dead man is laid is the *tarvali*, but the *tarvalikartmokh* has no duties in connexion with the funeral, and does his dairy work as usual, while it is the dairyman of the conical *poh*, the *wursol*, who takes an active part in the funeral rites.

764 The earth-throwing ceremony is of especial interest, because
171 it would seem to be a relic of burial. Earth is thrown three times on the corpse before it is burnt. In connexion
174 with the idea that the ceremony is a relic of a previous stage, in which the Todas buried their dead, it may be mentioned that a ceremony with some points of similarity is performed at the funerals of the Hill Arrians of the Western Ghats,[1] who bury their dead. A man of the same clan as the deceased takes a new cloth and tears from it a narrow strip which he fastens upon himself. He then goes backwards to the place fixed for the grave and digs with a hoe, removing three hoes full of earth. In this ceremony he is said to be calling on the earth to give up six feet for the dead. There is a suggestive resemblance between the ceremonies performed by these two hill tribes of South-west India, which lends some support to the view that the earth-throwing ceremony of the Todas is a relic of inhumation.

It perhaps may be regarded as a fact inconsistent with this view that the earth-throwing ceremony is performed at both funerals, and again the throwing of earth into a buffalo pen is so essential a feature that it is possible the whole ceremony may have some other meaning.

764 It is tempting to extend the conjecture by supposing that
174 the dead were at one time buried in the *tu* or buffalo pen, but there is, as far as I know, no evidence that this was ever done by the Todas or by any other Indian tribe. Unless, indeed, the *azaram* is the representative of a *tu*, in which case the burial of the ashes at the entrance of the *azaram* may be

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[1] See Fawcett, *Journ. Anthrop. Soc. Bombay*, 1890, vol. ii., p. 146.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

527 784 (iv) Women may not leave the village, nor may women from other places come to the village.

621 (v) The people may not bathe nor cut their nails on the *madnol*, and the men may not shave. Clothes may not be washed, nor may the usual cleansing of the house with buffalo-dung be done. The ordinary meals may be prepared, but the people must not cook rice with milk.

(vi) The stone called *tukitthkars* may not be touched.

(vii) The dairyman may not leave the village, and the ordination ceremonies of a dairyman may not take place on this day.

(viii) The people may not migrate from one village to another, nor may the buffaloes be taken from one place to another.

234 527 784 Among the Teivaliol the *madnol* is the only sacred day of the week, but among the Tartharol there is also a dairy day or *palinol*, and if there is more than one dairy there may be one such holy day for each kind of dairy, each named after the dairy, the *wursulinol*, the *kudrpalinol*, or the *tarvalinol*. Similarly, Taradr has a *kugvalinol* and Kanòdrs a *polnol*.

On these days milk and ghi may not be given out from the dairy, nor may they be sold. Butter and buttermilk may be distributed, but only to the people of the village. Buffaloes may not be driven on these days. Women may not leave the village, though women of other villages are allowed to come. Cleansing with buffalo-dung must not be done. There was some difference of opinion as to whether money might leave the village on these days. Some said not, but it seemed clear that at Kars money might be taken from the village on the *palinol*. The rules were said to be the same for the holy days of all kinds of dairy.

527 784 There are various recognised methods of evading the rules for the holy days, and of avoiding the inconvenience which the regulations might entail on a village.

183 Money may be taken out of the village on the day before the *madnol* and buried or left in some spot where it can be found on the following day, so that if there is an urgent reason why a purchase should be completed on the holy day this can be done.

621 According to other accounts the village of Kanòdrs[1] is
627 also a *satimad*, and Todas of all clans may be brought there
778 to make statements. It seems most probable that both places are *satimad*, but that the custom of using Kanòdrs as a touchstone of truth is now no longer followed, Kiudr only being used for this purpose. It will be remembered that both Kiudr and Kanòdrs have features of dairy ritual peculiar to themselves, and that in some respects there is a close resemblance between the ritual of the two places.

[114] In his book written in 1832,[2] Captain Harkness says that the Todas have a temple dedicated to Truth, but identifies this with a *ti* dairy (*teriri*). It is probable, however, that his statement was based on what he was told of the *satimad*, either of Kiudr or Kanòdrs.

THE DAIRY

234 As we have already seen, there is some doubt whether the
621 reverence paid to a village is paid to the village as a whole
778 or to the dairy. There is no doubt, however, that the dairy draws to itself most of the veneration which a village excites.

788 Whenever a devout Toda visits a strange village, he goes to the dairy, and prostrating himself at its threshold, utters a prayer. My ordinary guide, Kòdrner, was not devout and did not pay this reverence, but his brother, Kutadri, was very scrupulous in performing these duties, especially when he went with me to the Kundahs. I could not obtain from him the prayer that he employed on these occasions.

The contents of the dairy are regarded as sacred, and, as we have seen, definite means are taken to prevent these objects from contamination by the gaze or touch of ordinary mortals. Of the objects kept in the dairy the bells are undoubtedly the most sacred. The most sacred of the vessels is the *mu*, which is not kept in the dairy but is buried in the buffalo-pen, and is only used on certain ceremonial occasions.

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[1] At this place there is now only a dairy.

[2] Pp. 18 and 67.

This *mu* is closely associated with the general sanctity of the dairy. The prosperity of the dairy is dependent on its condition, and it would seem to have very much the same ideas attached to it as we meet in the life-token. It may also be regarded as the emblem of a dairy, and in the case of the funeral hut of Taradr, we have seen that a building becomes a dairy when a *mu* is placed in its inner room. 234 778

In his account of the Todas, Breeks identifies the special name of the dairy with that of the presiding god of the dairy or village. If he is right, it would seem to follow that the Todas personify the dairy in some degree. The use of the name of dairies in such a formula as that used at the end of the *irnörtiti* ceremony (see p. 303) might be regarded as evidence of this personification of the dairy. I do not believe, however, in this personification, and if the dairy has attained in some measure to the dignity of a god, there is no doubt that this god belongs to a category very different from that of the true Toda gods of the hill-tops. [114]

THE THRESHOLD

As we have just seen, a man in paying reverence to the dairy bows down and touches the threshold with his forehead, and the threshold also frequently plays a part in the dairy ceremonial. The dairyman bows down and touches the threshold of his dairy before entering upon his work, and this is also one of the acts performed on his entrance into office on ordination. 234 778 788

The Teivaliol at an ordination also sweep the threshold with the grass called *kakar*, and the same grass is used to sweep the threshold of the dairy by the young girl who performs this office on reaching the new village during the migration ceremony (see p. 128). In the *tuninörtiti* and *pilinörtiti* ceremonies the offering is laid on the threshold of the dairy, and in the ceremony of uncovering for the first time the face of a boy, the child is put down by his father so that his forehead touches the threshold.

778 534 Among the Tartharol there was no distinction of this kind, and it seemed that these bells were looked on by the Todas in a different light to other bells, and were not thought of when they told me that the Teivaliol had no *mani*. It was quite clear that they were not used at funerals. The suggestion which I have made in the chapter on the dairy ritual would provide an explanation of this apparently exceptional position of the Kiudr *mani*. If Kiudr is the relic of an old *ti* dairy and the bells are the old *mani* of the *ti*, it becomes clear why the bells have their exceptional character, and why they are not used at a funeral, for the bells of a *ti* would never be allowed to suffer the defilement to which this ceremonial use subjects them.

778 788 234 534 Most of the *mani* have milk, curds, or buttermilk offered to them during the dairy ceremonial. The only exceptions of which I heard were some of the bells of the *ti* dairy, the bell called Keu at the Nòdrs *ti*, and that called Pongg at the Pan *ti*, which are not 'fed,' to use the common Toda expression.

At the village dairy the 'feeding' is a regular part of the dairy ritual, curds being put on the bells in the earlier, and some of the milk from that first brought into the dairy, in the later part of the proceedings. I only heard of one instance in which bells were given buttermilk. This was done with the *ertatmani* of the Kiudr dairy, and if the supposition given above is correct, this should, therefore, also be the procedure with the *kudrs mani* of the *ti* dairy. It is quite possible that this is one of the details of the dairy ritual which escaped me, or it may be that it was a special custom of the *ti* dairy from which I suppose the Kiudr dairy to have been derived.

771 778 534 Some writers on the Todas have regarded the bells as the Toda gods, and there certainly is some evidence which would justify one in regarding them as idols. The 'feeding' is a definite indication that the bells are, to a certain extent, regarded by the Todas as living beings, and in the legendary accounts of the origin of certain bells, belief in their activity is obvious. One bell is born and another comes from the sea and sits on the side of a milking vessel. It is quite clear, however, that the bell belongs to a different category in the religion of the Todas from that occupied by the gods.

Possibly the Todas may have some clear ideas about the 771
connexion between their bells, gods, and dairies, but I could 778
not discover them, and am inclined to believe that the people 534
are now very hazy about the exact place of the bell and the god in their theology.

It was quite clear that they believed an offence against the dairy was punished by the gods, and I cannot say definitely that in this case the bell may not have been personified as a god, but I do not think that this was so.

It seems to me probable that the present sanctity of the 234
bell has come about by a process of transference[1] from the 778
buffalo to the object worn by it. Probably at one time the
buffaloes were more directly venerated than they appear to be 534
at present. There is evidence that even in recent times the 174
bell-cow or buffalo which carried the bell was an object of 771
especial veneration. In such books as those of Harkness and Marshall, the bell-cow seems to occupy a more prominent position than, so far as I could tell, it occupies at present.

In the present day the *mani* of the *ti* is only hung on the neck of a buffalo at the migration from one *ti mad* to another and at the Nòdrs *ti*, only for a few minutes even then. At the village dairy, the *mani* is never, so far as I could tell, put on the neck of a buffalo except at the funeral ceremonies. The idea in the latter case seems to be that a sacred buffalo should wear its bell, and in order that the buffalo slaughtered at a funeral should go to Amnòdr with its bell, the *mani* is hung on its neck while it is being killed. The legend of Kwoto and Punatvan shows that the bells are believed to travel to Amnòdr with the buffaloes.

The following may be suggested as a sketch of the probable evolution of the sanctity of the bell. At one time the buffaloes were the chief sacred objects of the Todas. Then this sanctity was concentrated in the persons of the bell-buffaloes, and later became partially attached to the bells, and the Todas then probably reached a stage in which it was doubtful how far the sanctity of the bell-buffalo was due to its position

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[1] As we have already seen (p. 243) there is some reason to think that there has been example of such transference of sanctity to an object in the case of the *mu* or buried dairy vessel.

234 778 534 174 771 as chief of the herd, and how far to the bell it carried. It is possible that this was the stage of evolution of the idea in which the earliest visitors to the Nilgiris found the Todas. We may suppose that gradually the sanctity became more and more attached to the bell, less and less to its possessor, until now the Todas seem to have reached a position in which the bell-buffalo has little or no sanctity above its fellows, and the sanctity resides almost wholly in the bell. The original use of the bell now only survives in the ritual accompanying the migration of the *ti* buffaloes and in the funeral ceremonies.

[192] There is one small fact which may perhaps be taken to indicate that the word *mani* is now applied to any object of a sacred or magical nature. The armlet put on the wrist of a child at the naming ceremony is called *kansutimani.* If the last part of this word is the same as the name of the bell, it would seem to indicate that the word may be used for an object the significance of which is magical rather than religious, and in connexion with a practice which has probably been borrowed.

RELICS

778 The Todas have a few relics of heroes which are regarded as objects of veneration, and are kept in the dairies. One of these, which is believed to be the armlet of the Kars man who went with the *ti* buffaloes in the story of Kwoto, is kept at Kuzhu, and has milk put on it during the dairy ritual in the same way as if it were a bell.

Another object is the ring of Kwoten which was found on the sambhar skin after the disappearance of this god. I saw this ring, which is of silver and far more massive than the rings worn by the Todas at the present time. Breeks states that in his time the Todas also claimed to have had in their possession the spear of Kwoten.

THE BUFFALO AND ITS MILK

234 778 In discussing the sanctity of the bells of the Toda dairies we have seen that there is some reason to think that these

objects have attained their sacred character, at any rate in 234
part, by a process of transference of sanctity from the buffaloes 778
by which they were borne.

It is in favour of this view that the buffaloes seem at one
time to have been more sacred, or to have received more
definite signs of reverence than at the present time. The [773]
evidence of the legends points to a time when buffaloes were regarded as having anthropomorphic characters, and they probably indicate a belief in the sacred nature of these animals. When the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* first came from Amnòdr, they talked like men, and the buffalo who founded the *ti mad* at Makars was a very human animal.

In his book, Captain Harkness (p. 16) states that as 234
the buffaloes of the village are about to be penned for the 778
night, the whole family, male and female, salute them by 788
bringing the hand to the face. So far as I could ascertain, this is no longer done, and the only definite sign of reverence paid to the buffaloes, so far as I could learn, is the salutation made, partly to them and partly to the sun, by the *palol* when he leaves his dairy. Whenever in my journeys about the hills we came across herds of sacred buffaloes, even those of the *ti*, no salutation or sign of respect was made by the Todas who were with me, though a dairy, especially if it contained a *mani*, would receive obvious signs of veneration. Except in connexion with ceremonial there was nothing in the behaviour of the Todas towards their buffaloes to indicate that they were sacred animals, and it seems probable that the sanctity of the buffaloes has been to a great extent transferred, partly to the *mani* and partly to the milk given by the animals.

The milk is undoubtedly regarded as a sacred substance. 234
There are distinct restrictions on its use which become more 778
onerous as one ascends in the scale of dairies, and we have seen that there is reason to believe that the whole complicated daily ritual of the dairy may be designed to neutralise the dangers attendant on the conversion of the milk into substances which may be used by the outside world.

Throughout this book I have spoken of sacred buffaloes to distinguish them from those which take no part in the dairy ritual, but it is a question whether the sanctity does not attach much more closely to the objects connected with the buffaloes than to the buffaloes themselves.

I think it is clear that at the present time none of the Toda buffaloes are so sacred that their milk in the form of ghi may not be used. Some writers have supposed that no profit is made from the sacred buffaloes of the *ti*, but at present this is certainly not so, and the ghi made from the milk of the sacred buffaloes is sold with the rest and may be used by all.

In earlier days, when the Todas led simpler lives than at present, when the bazaars of Ootacamund and Coonoor were not in existence to act as incentives to the acquirement of gain, it is possible that the Todas did not sell the ghi made from the milk of their more sacred buffaloes, and, as I have already suggested, it is even possible that at one time they were content to allow these animals to suckle their calves and made no use of their milk. Even at the present time a sacred buffalo will not be milked unless it is provided with the appropriate dairy and dairyman. The buffaloes of a *ti* which has no *palol*, or of a *wursuli* which has no *wursol*, are not allowed to be milked though they may be looked after by other men. With this exception, however, I believe that, at the present time, every buffalo, even of the most sacred herds, is a source of profit by the sale of the ghi which is made from its milk.

The various offerings of buffaloes made in connexion with ceremonial are also not allowed to interfere with the economic value of the animals. In the *irnörtiti* ceremony of the village, the offered buffalo simply passes from one division of a clan to another, and when a buffalo is said to be devoted to the gods, it does not mean that the owner profits a whit the less on account of the oblation, but only that he may not kill it at a funeral, and must allow it to die a natural death.

Even the slaughter of animals at the funeral ceremonies appears to be managed so as to interfere as little as possible with the profits obtained from the sale of the milk. I think there is little doubt that it is an established custom to kill old and barren buffaloes on these occasions. An animal is not sent to the next world till its owner has got the utmost out of it in this.

Only on one point is it clear that the Todas make no direct 234
gain from their buffaloes. When once a buffalo is dead, the 177
Todas seek no further profit, and the carcases become the
property of the Kotas. But even here there is an indirect 437
gain, for the bodies of the buffaloes form a large part of the equivalent received by the Kotas for the many services they render to the Todas.

OTHER ANIMALS

The Todas have so highly developed the cult of one animal 773
that they show few traces of belief in the sanctity of others. 778
I will put together here the whole of the scanty evidence
which I possess concerning their relations with animals in 825
general.

The Tiger.—The Todas have a legend that at one time the tiger used to watch over the buffaloes for them during the day and hand over his charge in the evening. One day the tiger was very hungry and its hunger made it angry. When it brought the buffaloes back to the village it saw a cat catching a rat. Then the tiger asked the cat for some of the flesh, but the cat said, "There is no fool like you; why don't you eat some of the buffaloes you look after?" At that time the tiger usually slept at the village, but on this evening it went into the wood and at midnight came slowly back and took one of the buffaloes out of the pen, and since then it has always done this.

According to another legend (see p. 185), buffaloes have been killed by tigers ever since the *arsaiir* of the Kwòdrdoni *ti* failed to come to the general gathering which assembled to bid farewell to Ön when he went to rule over Amnòdr.

Jervis[1] states that the natives of the hills salaam to the tiger. He does not say definitely that it is the Todas who do this, but it is probable that he is referring to them. He also states that the women of the village throw themselves on their knees before a tiger which has been killed, and touch his bristles with their foreheads. I do not know whether these practices are still followed.

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[1] Falls of the Cavery, 1834, p. 49.

776 234 In the process of divination men are possessed by gods; and another example of possession by the gods may be mentioned here, as I have not found a suitable place for it elsewhere. If any of the gods should sit on the back of a buffalo, the animal will go to the hill called Kûrâtvan, near Neduvattam, and this is said to have happened to two buffaloes in recent times. A buffalo which goes to this hill is allowed to find its own way back, and, provided the buffalo goes only to *etudmad*, its course will not be interfered with. One of the two buffaloes above-mentioned travelled back by way of Taradr, a place called Panmtu, Nòdrs, Miuni, and then went to its own village.

776 787 177 In the chapter on divination I have pointed out that many of the deities who inspire the diviners are not true Toda gods, and this suggests that the practice of divination may have been borrowed from surrounding peoples, in which case caution would be needed in drawing conclusions from the beliefs associated with the practice. I believe, however, that the information given to me on this point is based on recent utterances of the *teuol* themselves when in a state of frenzy. Each *teuol* was asked by whom he was inspired, and I think it not unlikely that the answers were influenced by the recent associations of the Todas.

776 778 823 At the present time none of the gods are ever seen by mortals. As we have already found, the hills where they are supposed to dwell are, in some cases, regarded with reverence; but I obtained no evidence that the Todas avoid the summits even of those hills where the most important deities are supposed to be, though unfortunately I omitted to put this to the test by asking any of the more scrupulous Todas to accompany me to these places. The god-inhabited hills, however, are, in most cases, the sites of cairns and barrows, and the whole experience of those who have excavated these sites seems to show that the Todas exhibit no special reluctance to visit these dwelling-places of the gods.

776 I think that there can be little doubt that most of the individual gods of the Todas are becoming very unreal beings to those who talk of them. The stories of the earlier gods are now being forgotten, and the ideas of the Todas about them are

125 128 blindness, and as I was anxious to test every member of the community who was old enough, I obtained towards the end of my visit the names of all those who had not been tested. I only attempted to test children when over five years of age, and I have therefore an independent record of the living Todas above this age, so that it is fairly certain that the greater part of the deficiency in the genealogical record is of children about or below the age of five, though it is possible that I may also have missed a certain number of women.

128 173 601 This deficiency does not in the slightest degree affect the value of the pedigrees as a record of marriages or of the working of social regulations, but it does impair the value of the statistics concerning the average size of a family and other matters of biological interest, though only for the last generation.

On looking through my genealogical tables, it will be seen that different clans and families differ very greatly in the fulness of their record. In some cases I have pedigrees going back to the great-grandfathers of men now in middle life; in other cases I have only the names of the fathers of such men. The briefness of the record is especially marked in the case of the outlying clans, such as Kwòdrdoni, Pedrkars, and Päm, which I only visited for short periods. During these visits there was so much to be done that something had to suffer and the genealogies were usually the victims. If I had had more time, I have little doubt that I could have obtained much fuller records in many cases.

BUFFALO PEDIGREES

124 173 234 Marshall has stated that the Todas preserve the pedigrees of their buffaloes in the female line, and when I had found how carefully the Todas preserved their own pedigrees my next step was to endeavour to ascertain if the pedigrees of their buffaloes were preserved with the same amount of care and completeness. I returned to this subject again and again, but with very imperfect success. The Todas always treated my inquiries on this subject as if they were trifling and ridiculous. It is possible that this was one of the points on

which they were reticent, but I am inclined to think that I was 124
told all there was to tell. 173

To a certain extent it is correct to say that the pedigrees
of the buffaloes are preserved, and in the female line only. 234
If any given buffalo were taken as the starting-point, the owner could usually tell me the names of the mother of the buffalo and of the mother's mother, and occasionally I obtained the names of the immediate ancestors in the female line for four generations. Thus, Nertiners of Taradr (24) had a buffalo named Kârstum who was the daughter of Idrsh. Idrsh was the daughter of Persud, who was the daughter of Nerûv, who was the daughter of Kiûd. Another of his buffaloes, Keien, was descended from Koisi, Nerûv, and Kâsimi in the order named.

I could not ascertain that the Todas kept any record of 173
the collateral lines of descent, nor was there, so far as I could 234
find, any idea of kinship between buffaloes descended from the same recent ancestor. Two buffaloes born of the same mother would be known, of course, to be sisters, but no importance seemed to be attached to the relationship.

An obvious reason for the limitation of the pedigrees of the buffaloes to the female line is the fact that only female buffaloes are named, so that there are no means of recording male parentage. We shall see later that among themselves the Todas attach little importance to paternity, and the same indifference is found in their attitude towards their buffaloes. The essential reason for the nature of the record of buffalo-descent is the complete absence of desire to maintain the purity of the breed, even of the most sacred herds, and the complete lack of attention to ties of consanguinity between buffaloes mated together.

THE TODA POPULATION

The chapters on kinship and marriage will furnish object- 000
lessons on the method of application of the knowledge derived from the genealogies to the study of social regulations. In the remainder of this chapter I propose to consider various problems connected with population, of biological as well as

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

192 and bows down with his head to the ground at its threshold,
593 and then goes to the huts, where he is greeted with the
577 appropriate greeting, but this differs in no way from the procedure of a visitor to any *etudmad*.

Marshall in his book[1] on the Todas has suggested that the
114 existence of female succession among the buffaloes of the
234 Todas may be a relic of female descent among the people
611 themselves. He suggests that at one time the scheme of descent and kinship was the same for the Todas and for their
842 buffaloes, and that with the introduction of polyandry there came in inheritance through males among themselves, while they continued to reckon the descent of the buffaloes in the female line.

We have seen (see p. 471) that the method of reckoning descent among the buffaloes is due superficially to the absence of names for male buffaloes and more deeply to the lack of interest in paternity. Nevertheless, Marshall's suggestion, wild as it may seem, should not be utterly scouted. The Todas regard their buffaloes so much as fellow creatures that any of their ideas concerning the relations of their buffaloes to one another should not be without interest to the student of social regulations.

234 If one may speak of social organisation among buffaloes—and in the case of the Toda herds we are justified in doing
611 so—we have a state of society in some ways analogous to that
842 which many sociologists suppose to have existed at one time
181 in the early stages of human society. We have various groups of buffaloes, and each buffalo—certainly each female buffalo—belongs to the same group as its mother. There is complete promiscuity, and the buffalo belongs to its mother's group because paternity is unknown or disregarded.

It is true that this condition is artificial, but it is this very artificiality which gives it its interest, for it shows that people like the Todas, whose whole lives are devoted to the buffalo, to whom the breeding of the buffalo should have the deepest interest, have allowed this state of things to come about. If they had attached importance to paternity nothing would have been easier than to regulate breeding, to record paternity,

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[1] P. 132.

and even to have developed a system of male descent among 234
their buffaloes such as exists among themselves. 611

The nature of what may be called the social regulations of 842
the buffaloes shows that the Todas take little interest in the part
played by the male in the process of mating, and, as we have 181
seen, this lack of interest is almost as great among themselves. Side by side with the strictest regulation of marriage as a social institution, such great laxity prevails in regard to sexual relations that the Todas may almost be said to live in a condition of promiscuity, though, as I have endeavoured to show, the degree of promiscuity is in practice perhaps hardly as great as their statements would lead one to expect.

ADOPTION

It is clear that the custom of adoption of children is 597
not practised by the Todas. They denied its existence emphatically, and I met with no instance which led me to suspect its presence in compiling the genealogies.

If a child is left an orphan, it is looked after by the people 736
of its clan, but it is always clearly recognised that the child 611
retains the father's property, and belongs to the *mădol* and *pòlm* of the father.

There is, so far as I could ascertain, no religious custom 842
which makes it necessary that a man should have children.
The duties of a child at the funeral ceremonies can quite well 618
be performed by some other member of the clan.

There is a social reason which makes it inconvenient in some cases that a man should die without male issue. If a man is the only representative of his *kudr*, and has no children, the *kudr* will become extinct, and the clan will be put to the trouble of rearranging the families of which it is constituted. If such a man is childless he may take another wife in the hope of having a son to carry on the *kudr*, but the adoption of a child for the purpose is never thought of. A good case is that of the two brothers Mudrigeidi and Odrkurs in Table I. They are the last two representatives of one *kudr* of the Nòdrsol. They have had two wives, one of whom has had a daughter and a boy who died, and in the

177 sum from the Government as compensation for land taken
421 from them in Ootacamund and elsewhere.

Although the Todas have thus had much difficulty with the
423 Government in relation to the ownership of land, it does not
578 seem that they have trouble in this matter among themselves, and I heard of no disputes between members of different clans or different villages about grazing rights.

In the account of the marriage dispute between Punog and Nertiners (see p. 536) the former had evidently put many of his buffaloes in the charge of his brother-in-law for grazing purposes, but it was quite clear that no question of grazing rights came into this dispute. The buffaloes only came into the quarrel because Nertiners happened to have them in his charge when the marriage dispute arose.

I did not ascertain definitely how grazing rights between two clans or families are regulated, but I think it is quite clear that there is no individual ownership in land.

234 Certain dairies, and probably all the chief villages (*etudmad*),
423 are regarded more or less as the property of the whole clan.
There probably never arises any real question of ownership,
618 but as regards the dairies, it was clear that any expenses incurred in the repair or rebuilding of a dairy fall on the whole clan, each *pòlm* of the clan contributing an equal share.[1]

The buffalo herds of the *ti* are also regarded as the property of the whole clan, but the rights of ownership are in these cases very shadowy. It does not appear that the owning clan derives any pecuniary benefit from its possession of the herd, while, on the other hand, the possession involves considerable expense, chiefly owing to certain feasts which have to be provided, and these expenses are given as the reason why certain of the sacred dairies are unoccupied. The people of the owning clan have, it is true, the right of choosing the *palol*, but as the choice is limited, and there is, in most cases, little competition for the office, this is a very empty honour.

423 *Houses.* Each house belongs to a certain family. The
595 normal Toda family consists of a number of brothers with

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[358] [1] I am not clear on whom the expense of rebuilding and repairing a dairy would fall when the dairy is situated at a village occupied by one family only, and used exclusively for buffaloes which are the private property of that family.

171 live, and when they die he continues to live in the parental home, of which he becomes the owner.

234 *Buffaloes.* These are to a very large extent individual property. In practice, owing to the fact that brothers
422 usually live together, a herd of buffaloes is treated as the
428 property of a family of brothers, but whenever the occasion arises there are definite rules for the division of the buffaloes
176 among them.

I have already referred to the fact that certain herds of buffaloes, such as the *ti* herds and the *kugvalir* of Taradr, are the common property of a clan, but the great majority of both sacred and ordinary buffaloes belong to families or individuals.[1] When a man who owns a certain number of buffaloes dies, the buffaloes are not necessarily divided among his sons. If the sons are all living together, the buffaloes may be treated as if they were common property. The milk of the ordinary buffaloes is churned in the dwelling-hut, and that of the sacred buffaloes in the dairy, and the produce in each case is regarded as the property of the whole family. It is only when dissensions arise, or when some reason makes it desirable that the brothers should separate and live in different villages, that the laws regulating the partition of buffaloes come into force.

When such an occasion arises the buffaloes are equally divided among the brothers, with the exception that the eldest son and the youngest son each receive one buffalo in excess of the rest. This custom is known as *Irvâkhtuûdr meilkûdr*, or "if divide buffaloes, superior portion."

If there are only two sons, each will get *meilkudr*, and the buffaloes are equally divided; but if there should be an unequal number of buffaloes, the odd buffalo is taken by the elder son.

If there are more than two sons, the buffaloes are equally divided with *meilkudr* to the eldest and youngest, and any odd buffaloes are in this case sold and the proceeds equally divided, or, more commonly, one of the brothers takes the odd buffaloes and gives the right proportion of their value to the other brothers.

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[1] On p. 70 I have given an example of the ownership of sacred buffaloes in the Kars clan.

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Thus, if sixteen buffaloes are to be divided among four brothers, the eldest and youngest would each take four, the second and third brothers would each take three, and the remaining two buffaloes would either be sold and the purchase money equally divided, or taken by one of the brothers, who would divide three-quarters of the value of the buffaloes between the other three men. If there should be only fourteen buffaloes, the eldest and youngest sons would each take four buffaloes and the others three.

The *meilkudr* is also operative if a man divides his buffaloes among his sons in his lifetime. In this case a man usually keeps some buffaloes for himself; thus I was told that a man who had sixteen buffaloes and three sons might give four buffaloes to the eldest, three to the next, and four to the youngest son, keeping five for himself.

The Todas told me of one apparent exception to the law of *meilkudr*. If, in a family of four brothers, the two elder brothers marry one wife and the two younger marry another and the two groups separate, the buffaloes would be equally divided, but this is because each would receive a *meilkudr*. If, on the other hand, the eldest and youngest son married one wife, and the other two sons married another woman, the first group would receive two buffaloes in excess of the second. The former example is, of course, an obvious consequence of the law of *meilkudr*. I only mention it because the Todas told me of it especially, and seemed to regard it as a case which might be thought to be a departure from custom.

I gave the Todas a number of hypothetical problems of buffalo division, and all were solved in accordance with the law of *meilkudr*. I have not been able to learn of any exact parallel in other parts of the world, and it seems possible that it is an independent invention of the Todas. The division is called *kudr*, or horn, and it seems to me quite possible that at some time it occurred to an ingenious Toda that the two extremities of the family should be regarded as the two horns of the family, and that this fact should be recognised in the division of property, or, it may be, that the custom of endowing the eldest of the family above his fellows

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

176 234 422 428 existed among the Todas as among so many other races, till it was pointed out that this was like a buffalo with one horn, and the youngest son was therefore similarly endowed to restore the symmetry of the family. The buffalo influences the Toda mind so much that I do not think this is a far-fetched explanation of a custom which appears to be the unique possession of this people.

The word *kudr* is also the name of one of the divisions of the clan, and it seemed clear in this case that the proper number of *kudr* in each clan is two.

234 422 425 There is much transference of buffaloes from one man to another, or from one family to another. Many ceremonies involve gifts of buffaloes, and these are usually presented by a member of one clan to a member of another. Marriage is one of the chief occasions of such gifts. Refusal to fulfil the marriage contract and divorce involve the payment of buffaloes, and the *terersthi* custom is a great source of the passing of buffaloes from one clan to another. Similarly, buffaloes are given at the ceremonies of naming, ear-piercing, &c., and as I have already pointed out, these transferences have led to great confusion in the classification of the different kinds of sacred buffaloes, as a man may have in his possession animals belonging to several named groups.

In the case of ordinary buffaloes, or *putiir*, it seemed that a distinction is made between buffaloes which have been acquired by a man and those descended from animals which had been in the possession of his father and grandfather. My attention was drawn to this point by the occurrence at the funeral of Sinerani. The recalcitrant buffalo on this occasion was one of the latter kind, and I was told that it should not have been killed at the funeral of a girl because, being descended from a buffalo which belonged to Kuriolv's grandfather, Kuriolv's heirs had a right to it of which they were deprived by its slaughter for a girl. If the dead child had been a boy the slaughter of this buffalo would have been proper, for the dead child in this case would have been one of the heirs.

234 609 Transferences of buffaloes also take place between Todas and Badagas, as we have seen in connexion with the ear-

piercing ceremony described in Chapter XIV. In this case 234
the gift appeared to be nothing more than a friendly com- 609
pliment, but it is possible that transferences of buffaloes may in some cases be connected with the other complicated relations between the two tribes.

Household Goods. These are equally divided among the 422
sons, though, as in the case of the buffaloes, they are used 428
in common so long as the sons live together. If household goods have to be divided among the members of a family 595
they are shared as equally as possible, and this is also the case with any ornaments. If the man had only one ring, it was said that this ring would either be broken up and shared equally, or its value would be divided. Money is shared equally among the sons.

If one of several brothers who has his own wife should die and leave children, the sons would take their father's share at any division of property. Thus, at the time of my visit, Piutolvan and Püljeidi (10), two very old men, were thinking of dividing their buffaloes among their descendants. In this case Menkars would receive the number which his father Tagners would have received if he had been alive. If Tagners had left two sons, the portion which their father would have received would be divided between the two boys or devoted to their common use.

Daughters inherit nothing. They only receive from their parents what they are given as dowry (*adrparn*).

Any property given to a woman as dowry goes with her [586]
if she changes husbands, but any ornaments or other property given to a wife by her husband are kept by the husband if the wife is transferred to another man or group of men.

Harkness records a case in which a dispute about property 428
arose. In this case a woman bore two children to three husbands. One of the husbands died and the other two husbands married other wives. The two children claimed one-third of the property of the mother and her first husband, and Harkness was told that this was generally recognised to be a just claim. I did not inquire into this special case but according to the laws of inheritance of property which I have given, it would seem that the children were entitled to

CHAPTER XXIV

ARTS AND AMUSEMENTS

181 THE arts of life among the Todas are extremely simple.
234 The fact that their agriculture is done for them by the
177 Badagas and that all the objects they use in their daily life are made for them by the Kotas leaves them free to devote their whole attention to the care of the buffalo and the dairy. This employment has acquired so ceremonial a character that, having dealt with the ceremonies of the Todas, we find little left to consider in connexion with the regulation of the affairs of daily life.

181 The artistic side of life among the Todas is but little
531 developed. Their interest is so much absorbed in ceremony that little is left for the development of art, even of a primitive kind. The decorative arts are of the simplest and are directed only to the adornment of the clothing or the person, and even here we shall find that the methods of wearing the clothes or the hair are quite as much influenced by ceremonial as by æsthetic considerations. In their amusements again we shall find that the influence of ceremonial is so great, that many of the games are merely imitations of ceremonial occupations.

821 I have included in this chapter an account of the ideas which are held about the heavenly bodies, the primitive astronomy of the people. To the Todas, though in a less degree than to many people of low culture, it is the sun, moon, and stars which are the chief objects of those observations and speculations which are the beginnings of science.

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The contribution of grain from the Badagas has usually been regarded as given in return for the use of the land, the Todas being supposed to be the original owners of the soil. That this is not the whole explanation is shown by the fact that the Badagas also give a tribûte of grain to two other Nilgiri tribes, the Kotas and Kurumbas. Harkness[1] was told by the Badagas that the portion given to the *ti* was in return for the prayers of the *palol*, and that they did not believe that "their crops or their cattle, themselves or their children, would prosper without his blessing." The Badagas also stated that they generally desisted from cultivating their fields when the *ti* was left without a *palol*. They looked on the tribute of grain to the Todas as given of their own good will, while a similar tribute to the Kurumbas was dictated by fear of the consequences of sorcery which might be employed if the duty were neglected.

[754] It has been supposed that the fear of Toda sorcery is one reason for the maintenance of the tribute, and, since the Badagas undoubtedly fear the power of the Toda sorcerers, it is probable that this factor plays a part, though one less important than in the case of the Kurumbas.

● [234] Another view which has been taken is that the Todas maintain rights over old dairies in the middle of the Badaga fields, and that any recalcitrance on the part of the Badagas might be followed by the taking up of these old rights. It is possible that the Todas have at some time threatened to resume their rights over disused dairies, but, in the case of the more sacred dairies, the fear of defilement of the sacred buffaloes by approaching a Badaga village would prevent the Todas from putting such a threat into practice.

The grain is probably given, partly because it is an immemorial custom, partly because the Badagas believe that they receive benefits and avoid evils in consequence of the custom.

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At the present time, the amount of grain supplied by the Badagas is not sufficient for the needs of the Todas, and both grain and rice are bought by the Todas in the bazaar. All the grain used by the *palol* must, however, be that supplied by

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[1] P. 136.

the Badagas; but if more grain is required than the Badagas 177
supply, it is possible that other grain may be used, though it 437
is always in this case procured through the Badagas. The rice used at a *ti* dairy must also be procured through the Badagas.

The supply of grain is far from being the only duty of the 177
Badagas to the *ti* dairies. Each *ti* has one or more special 234
Badagas, each called *tikelfmav*, or "*ti* help Badaga," who acts
as intermediary between the *palol* and the Hindus. The 609
earthenware vessels used in the inner room, the various 437
garments of the *palol*, and other objects are made by Hindus, from whom they are procured by the *tikelfmav*. I did not learn of any material recompense given to the Badagas for these services, and the motive is probably some such belief as that described by Harkness.

One of the most important parts played by the Badagas in 177
the Toda community is in connexion with the *naim*, or council,
of which one member is a Badaga belonging to the village of 623
Tuneri. He is only called upon to sit, however, in cases of difficulty, and probably one of his functions is to assist in the settlement of any dispute which may arise in connexion with the tribute of grain, or other transactions between members of the two communities.

There is little evidence that the Badagas have had much 177
influence on the more important customs and ceremonies of the Todas. Few traces of their influence are to be found in the dairy ceremonial, but it is possible that some of the rites accompanying birth and death may have been borrowed from this people. The practice of making cicatrices on the arm (p. 576) is common to both Badagas and Todas, and may have been borrowed by the latter from the former, but the practice is not in any way of a ceremonial character. The only part played by a Badaga at a Toda funeral is that the bell called *tukulir mani* may be kept by a Badaga or a Kota, and, as I have suggested on p. 377, the whole ceremony with the calf in which this bell is used may have been borrowed from the Badagas. The idea of a thread bridge between this world and the next is said to be common to Todas and Badagas, but I have no evidence to show which has borrowed from the other.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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CHAPTER XXVIII

THE CLANS OF THE TODAS

IN this chapter I propose to give a short account of each 618
of the Toda clans with any special features which characterise its ceremonial and social organisation. The chapter will consist largely of detail, much of which may be thought to have no great interest, but it seems desirable to put on record as full an account as possible of the condition of the people at the time of my visit. A certain amount of folklore will be included, those tales being given which are specially connected with the history of a clan.

THE TARTHAR CLANS

NODRS

The people of Nòdrs owe their special importance to their 173
connexion with the goddess Teikirzi, who was the *nòdrodchi*, 773
or first ruler of the clan, and according to tradition bestowed
certain special favours on her people. Chief among these 618
is the possession of the Nòdrs *ti*. This is undoubtedly the 234
most sacred and important of the five *ti* institutions, and its
herds are much larger than those of any other. The fact 554
that the Nòdrs people own this *ti* and have the power of appointing to the office of *palol* gives them great distinction in the eyes of the Todas, and this is emphasised when the *palol* is undergoing his ordination ceremonies, for several of these take place in villages of the Nòdrsol. The preliminary ceremony for those who wish to become *palol*, which is called *tesherst*, is also usually performed at a Nòdrs village.

234 618 Another title to fame is the possession of the *poh*, or conical dairy temple at Nòdrs, which is known to the European inhabitants of the Nilgiri Hills as the "Toda Cathedral." It is certainly not the most sacred of Toda dairies, but it is the most accessible of the few dairies of this kind now remaining.

618 The Nòdrsol are one of the clans represented in the *naim*. They now stand second among the Tarthar clans in point of numbers, having forty-three males and thirty females.[1] It has two *kudr*, one of which, consisting of the family given in the first of the genealogical tables, has now only two male members; as these have at present no son, it is possible that it may shortly become extinct. The other *kudr* has five *pòlm*, of which the chief men are Kerkadr (2), Kudòdrsvan (3), Teigudr (4), Mondothi (5), and Keitan (6). If any of the members of these five *pòlm* should perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony, the buffalo would go to Mudrigeidi and Odrkurs, while, if either of these men had to give a buffalo, its value would be divided among the other five *pòlm*. Kerkadr is regarded as the head of the second *kudr*.

618 764 The *madnol* of the Nòdrs people are Tuesday and Friday, and they hold the funerals of men on Sunday, and of women on Thursday. The special features of their funeral ceremonies are that the body of a man lies in the *tarvali* of Nòdrs for some days before the *etvainolkedr* and that a special bell (*mani*) is used at male funerals which has to be brought from Òdr. Male funerals are held at Nòdrs, and female funerals at Kulthpuli. The clan used also to have another funeral place close to the Paikara road, which is not now used.

621 361 The Nòdrsol have many villages, of which fourteen are still inhabited, and I obtained the names of five others now in ruins.

234 The following are the chief villages.

Nòdrs (Muttanadmand). In addition to the conical *poh*, this village has the distinguishing feature of a long wall which passes between this dairy and the huts where the

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[1] By this I mean that there are now living thirty females who were born members of the Nòdrsol, but since a woman becomes a member of her husband's clan, most of these are now members of other clans. I give the numbers of each clan in this form because it brings out several features of interest in relation to the relative fertility of different clans, the proportions of the sexes, &c.

people live. The wall then passes at the back of the *poh* and 621
runs for some distance northward. The *tarvali* (in Fig. 12) 351
is situated in an enclosure of the wall near the dwelling-huts,
so that the women can go to it for buttermilk without 234
crossing the wall and entering the enclosure in which the *poh* stands. In the south part of the wall is the gap through which the calf is driven at the *irnörtiti* ceremony (see Fig. 43). The wall is reputed to have been built by Elnakhum.

Close to the *poh*, between it and the *tarvali*, are the ruins of another dairy, the former *kudrpali*, which is said to have had seven rooms. It was disused on account of the difficulty in obtaining the services of a *kudrpalikartmokh*. It will be remembered that this grade of dairyman has to do his work without any covering, and in the bleak exposed position of Nòdrs, it seems that this was so great a hardship that the office went begging. The Nòdrs people are said to have ceased to use this dairy about four generations ago, and the condition of the ruins is about what might be expected if this statement were correct.

There are a large number of important stones at Nòdrs. 211
Formerly seven kinds of buffalo were killed at the funeral of 621
a male, and each was killed at a different stone. Now only
two buffaloes may be killed, but the stones remain to show 778
what was formerly done. Two *wursulir* were killed, one at the stone called *uteiks* and another at the stone *nerovkars*, both of which are shown in Fig. 70. One *nashperthir* was killed at the *nashperthkars*. The two sacred *mani* were hung on the necks of one of the *wursulir* and the *nashperthir*. One *pineipir* was killed at the stone called *tukervòrskars*. One *persasir* was killed at the *persaskars*, and two *putiir* were killed, one at the *teidrtolkars* and the other at the *menkars*. The *teidrtolkars*, shown in Fig. 13, also marks the spot where the unfortunate *wursol* milked his buffaloes (see p. 439). The *menkars*, shown in Fig. 12, is the stone used in the game of *narthpimi*, in which a boy creeps under a stone. It is on the village side of the wall, close to the entrance to the *tarvali*. All the other stones are on the same side of the wall as the *poh*.

Òdr (Aganadmand). This is second in importance among 234
621

234 621 the villages of the Nòdrsol, and it was a question whether the *wursuli* dairy, though of the ordinary form, had not even a greater sanctity than the *poh* of Nòdrs. More difficulty was made when I wished to go close to it than at any other place during the whole of my visit (except, of course, at the *ti* dairy), but, unfortunately, the affair was complicated by the fact that on this day my usual attendant, Kòdrner, was not with me, and the difficulty may have been partly due to this. When I was allowed to approach the building, only one man came with me and he would not go within several yards of the dairy, while allowing me to go on. The special sanctity of this dairy is due to the fact that the two *mani* of the Nòdrsol are kept here. Both this dairy and a smaller *tarvali* are at a much greater distance from the village than usual, but with that exception there is nothing to distinguish them from the dairies of other villages. The *wursuli* is one of those which has two rooms. It is at the village of Òdr that the *palol* passes one night during his

FIG. 70.—A VIEW OF NÒDRS. THE STONE IN THE FOREGROUND ON THE LEFT IS THE 'NEROVKARS'; THAT ON THE RIGHT IS THE 'UTEIKS.' IN THE BACKGROUND IN THE CENTRE IS AN OLD 'TU.' THE LOWER PART OF THE CONICAL DAIRY CAN BE SEEN BETWEEN THE BOY AND THE 'UTEIKS.'

ordination ceremonies, and I was shown the spot under a 234
tree where he has to sleep, the same spot being also used by 621
the *wursol* and *kaltmokh* when they undergo any part of their
ordination ceremonies at Òdr. 773

Another feature of interest is the connexion of this village with Kuudr. An Òdr man must be present at the *irpalvusthi* and salt-giving ceremonies of Kuudr, and a Kuudr man must attend when these ceremonies are performed at Òdr. Further, the *kwarzam* of Òdr are said in the prayer of the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony at Kuudr and the *Kwarzam* of Kuudr are said at Òdr.

The following legend records the origin of these customs:—

Soon after Teikirzi had given the buffaloes to the different villages, the buffaloes of Kuudr and Òdr were grazing together, and when evening came they could not be separated and both herds went together to the funeral place called Keikars. The *wursol* of Òdr and the *palikartmokh* of Kuudr brought their milking-vessels, each to milk his own buffaloes, and they also brought their churning-vessels (*patat*) and cooking-vessels. After they had milked, the *wursol* of Òdr went to pour his milk into his *patat*, and when doing so some of the milk splashed into the vessel of the *palikartmokh.* They then cooked some food with the milk, and as the food was boiling strongly, some of it went from one cooking-pot to the other. Then the people of the two villages met and decided that, as the two kinds of buffalo had been milked in one place and the two kinds of milk had been mixed with one another, each of the villages should mention the *kwarzam* of the other in its prayer, and people of one village should attend the ceremonies of the other.

Todshteiri (Talapattaraimand). This is another important 234
Nòdrs village. It was vacant at the time of my visit, but is 621
still often occupied. It had at one time a dairy called *Okurshapali* with seven rooms, which was, like that of Nòdrs, a *kudrpali.* It fell into disuse at the same time as the Nòdrs dairy, and its site is still quite distinct; but though it seemed larger than usual, I could discover no indication of the number of rooms it had had. When I visited the village there were nine ovens standing in a row, which had been used to cook the

234 621 food when Teigudr (4) took his wife Uwer from Nertolvan of Pan (16). On this occasion Nertolvan came to Tedshteiri to receive nine buffaloes from Teigudr, and the number of ovens corresponded with the number of the buffaloes.

Kudrnakhum (Kudinagamand). The chief point of interest about this village is that it is the place where the ceremony of *tesherst* often takes place. It is an outlying village to the west which I was unable to visit.

Perththo (Perattitalmand). This is a village which is shared by two clans. The part occupied by the Nòdrsol is called Meil Perththo, or Upper Perththo. The other part of the village was said to be general property, but it is at present occupied by Melgars people.

Kozhtudi or *Kozhteidi.* The special feature of this village is that it has a *wursuli* in which everything has to be carried out *kabkaditi*, *i.e.*, the dairyman is not allowed to turn his back to the contents of the dairy. This certainly points to the village having been at one time of importance.

KARS

618 621 This is at present the largest of the Tarthar clans, having sixty-seven male and fifty female members. It is represented in the *naim*, and there was some reason to think that it occupies a more important position in this body than the other Tarthar clans. The family of Parkurs (8) is called *tinkanikudupel*, ranking next to a *manikudupel*, and Parkurs was till lately a second or assistant *monegar*.

There seems to be no doubt that the Karsol have always been an important clan, and its members are often mentioned in the stories, though they do not appear to have had any legendary hero such as those of Melgars and Pan. Their *nòdrodchi* (ruler or presiding deity) is Kulinkars, now believed to live on a hill near Makurti Peak. The Kars people possess a *ti* which in importance and wealth is second only to that of Nòdrs.

618 Kars resembles Nòdrs in having two *kudr* differing greatly in size. Kutadri is the head of one, which comprises all the members of the family given in Table 7. It has two *pòlm*, headed by Kutadri and Peithol. The other *kudr* has eight

pòlm, of which the chief men are Parkurs (8), Pidrvan (9)[1], Piutolvan (10), Kudrvas (11), Kutthurs (12), Mongudrvan (13), Kiunervan (14), and Keitazvan (15). Till recently there appear to have been only five *pòlm* in the Kars clan, each of which has lately been divided into two. There is a very marked disproportion in the number of members of some of these divisions; thus the *pòlm* of Parkurs has sixteen males in five more or less distinct families, while others have only three or four males. Nevertheless each of the latter would contribute the same amount towards joint expenses of the clan as the sixteen males of the *pòlm* of Parkurs. 618

The chief villages of the Karsol are in or near Ootacamund, and this clan formerly had several other villages on sites now occupied by modern buildings.

The following are the chief places:—

Kars (Kandalmand). This village is one of the best known of Toda villages, being just on the outskirts of Ootacamund. It is a very typical example of a Toda village; there is a small group of houses, with a large dairy, the *kudrpali* (Fig. 21), called *Tarziolv*, close to them; just above the houses on the rising ground is a smaller dairy, the *wursuli* called *Karziolv*, shown in the background of Fig. 42 and partly shown in Figs. 23 and 44. Opposite the *kudrpali* are two raised circular mounds with flat tops called the *imudrikars* (seen in the foreground in Fig. 21), on which the body of a dead man is laid before being taken to the funeral hut at Taradrkirsi. Above the *kudrpali* is the hut for calves. 234 621

In the middle of the enclosure within which the village lies, is a row of stones (shown in Fig. 42) which are the *irnörtkars*, and in the ceremony of *irnörtiti* the calf is driven across these stones.

Behind the houses there is a small circular enclosure which is now used as a *tu* and is called *Althftu*. The entrance to this enclosure is shown in Fig. 29 just in front of the boy carrying the dairy vessels. Formerly there was a dairy of the conical kind within this circle, of which the name was *Ishpoh*. About five generations ago, this dairy still existed

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[1] Pidrvan died soon after my visit.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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and was tended by a *wursol*; but several dairymen died in succession, and this so alarmed the Todas that it became impossible to obtain anyone to fill the office, and when the dairy decayed its remains were removed and the circular enclosure within which it stood has since been used as a pen. In size and appearance the enclosure is quite unlike other pens, and resembles much more nearly the circular walls round the conical dairies of Nòdrs and Kanòdrs.

Kushu (Kunditolmand). This, the second in importance of the villages of the Karsol, is a very picturesque place south of Ootacamund. There is a *kudrpali* called *Tudrpoh*, in front of which is a stone called *imudrikars*. The gold bracelet mentioned in the story of Kwoto is kept in this dairy. In front of the dwelling-huts is another stone called *menkars* (see p. 342). The *menkars* at Kuzhu and that at Nòdrs are the only stones of this name, but they do not resemble one another, and the Kuzhu stone is not adapted for the *narthpimi* game as is that of Nòdrs.

Keshker (Kakerimand). This is a large village near Ootacamund at which there is a *kudrpali*, but little else of interest. It is probably the Kishkeijar mentioned by Harkness.

Nasmiòdr (Aganadmand). This is a very old village which was probably at one time much more important than at present. It is situated about a quarter of a mile from the road leading from Ootacamund to Ebanad, not far from the Badaga village of Tuneri. There is now only a small dairy (*wursuli*) situated in the middle of a wood. When I visited Nasmiòdr, this dairy was unoccupied, and, as is usual in such cases, my Toda guide refused to go to the dairy with me, and remained outside the wood. Soon after I left the hills, it was to be occupied by the *wursol* of Kars, who would take his buffaloes there for a month.

This village is mentioned in two Toda legends, in both of which it seems to have been a village at which people were living. The dairy is called *Tilipoh* or *Pohtilipoh*, and it still contains the two *mani*, Karzod and Kòni, which were hung on the neck of Enmon (see p. 208). It is one of the few *wursuli* which have two rooms.

Pakhalkudr (Bagalkodumand). This village, not far from

1; Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Paikara, is one of the most outlying villages of the Karsol. There is a very small dairy here resembling the *merkalars* which serves both as *kudrpali* and *wursuli*, the former being in front, while the latter is behind, with the door on one side. The *wursuli* is so small that there can scarcely be room for a fully grown man to do the churning. 234 621

Isharadr and *Peletkwur*. These are outlying villages of no special interest. The former was only built in the time of the grandfather of Parkurs (8), and has a dairy resembling that of Pakhalkudr.

Taradrkirsi (Kavaikkadmand). This is the funeral place for men of the Kars clan, and is also a *kalolmad*. There is a *kudrpali* with three rooms called *Paliven keirsi*, and a pen called *Tuoks*. There are two stones where the *wursulir* and *nashperthir* are killed, and close to them there is a spot by the side of a wood where earth is thrown at a funeral.. There is a slight break in the edge of the wood here, and this is probably the position of an old pen which has been completely overgrown.

There is a long wall at this village passing near the dairy and the funeral stones, and then extending a long way towards the east. It resembles the Nòdrs wall, and these seem to be the only two examples of walls of this kind at Toda villages. The wall at Taradrkirsi is said to have been built by Kwoten, but it seems unlikely, for this hero had no special connexion with the Karsol. 351

Several villages which have now wholly disappeared are still mentioned in the prayer which the Kars people use at the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony. One of these, Tashtars, stood where the Masonic Hall at Ootacamund now stands. The site of another, Türskidt, is occupied by a private house. Two, Tüli and Keitaz, were situated on Elk Hill, and two others, Sing and Kurkars, were near Nasmiòdr. 621

PAN

The Pan clan have their headquarters in the Kundahs and are often called the Medrol, or people of Medr, the Toda name for the Kundahs. The chief villages of this clan are in the 618 621

618 621 Kundahs, but they are only visited during the dry season, and for the greater part of the year the Panol live at the comparatively new village of Naters in the most thickly populated part of the hills. The legendary hero, Kwoten, belonged to Pan.

The clan is small, having now about twenty-seven male and nine female members. It is not represented on the *naim*, and in the Badaga grouping of the Todas this clan is joined with that of Nòdrs.

The Panol have two *kudr*, and provide the only example among the Tartharol in which the *kudr* have special names. The formation of the *kudr* is said to have been due to Kwoten, who divided the people into Panol and Kuirsiol, named after the two chief villages of the clan. The two divisions are also called Pandar and Peshteidimokh.

The Pandar or Panol have three *pòlm*, headed by Timurvan (16), Todars (16), and Nòrtiners (17). The Peshteidimokh or Kuirsiol have two *pòlm*, headed by Timners (18) and Imokhvan (19).

The *irnörtiti* and *tuninörtiti* ceremonies are performed in front of the *wursuli* at Pan or Kuirsi. The spots on which the ceremonies take place are not marked by any stones, and the ceremonies are spoken of as *paliknörtiti*, *i.e.*, "he gives to the dairy," though, as a matter of fact, the calf passes from the men of one *kudr* to the men of the other *kudr* as in other clans.

The *madnol* of Pan are said to be Sunday and Wednesday, and the funerals of men take place on Sunday or Tuesday, and those of women on Thursday or Saturday. It is probable that Tuesday is the proper day for the funerals of men, but that they are now sometimes held on Sunday.

621 The following are the chief villages of the Panol:—

Pan (Onnamand) is commonly known to Europeans as
234 "One mand." It is a large village in the south-west corner of the Kundahs, with two houses of the long variety, with a door at each end and a partition in the middle. There is a *wursuli* called *Keinulv*, and a *kudrpali* called *Nersolv*, and outside the pen there is a stone called *mutchudkars*.

Kuirsi (Kolimand). This village is near Pan. It has a

wursuli and *kudrpali*, the former being called *Marsolv* and 621
the latter *Keinulv*. Outside the pen, called *Tu matu*, there 234
is a large stone called *keinkars*, and inside it there are two
stones called *mutchudkars* and *pudrthkars*. I could learn
little of the history or functions of these stones, but they were
said to have been "played with" by Kwoten and Terkosh.

Perg (Yeragimand) is a small village near Avalanche Bungalow and is an example of a *kalolmad*.

Naters (Natanerimand) is a large village near Governor Shola, where most of the Panol live for the greater part of the year. This village has a *wursuli* and *tarvali*, but nothing else of interest.

Near Avalanche Bungalow there is the site of a village called *Pathmars*. Little remains of it, but the fireplace of a hut can still be seen.

Kabudri (Tebbekudumand). This is the male funeral 621
village of the Panol. Here there are two stones called *teiks* 764
where the *wursulir* are killed, and they are reputed to have
been set up by Kwoten; one, called *parsteiks*, is for the
Panol, and the other, called *kirshteiks*, for the Kuirsiol.
Another place given as the male funeral place of Pan was
Tim, where there is a three-roomed dairy of the same kind
as that at Taradrkirsi, in the outermost room of which the
body is placed. It is probable that Tim and Kabudri are two
names for the same place.

TARADR

All the villages of this clan are situated in the north-west 618
corner of the hills and the clan appears to have no villages far 621
removed from the *etudmad*. The clan is a large one having
now at least thirty-seven male and thirty-nine female members. 234

The Taradrol appear to have in several ways a special 775
position among the Tarthar clans. They possess the special
institution of the *kugvali*, which, though resembling in some
respects a *ti*, is situated by the other dairies of the village
and is tended by dairymen belonging to the clan. The
Taradrol are also unique in having their future world
(Amnòdr) near Perithi.

618 The Taradrol are divided into two *kudr*, each of which has
234 three *pòlm*. The chief men of the *pòlm* of one *kudr* are Ircheidi (20), Parkeidi (21), and Polgar (22); of the second, Paners (23), Irkiolv (24), and Kudeners (25). About the time of my visit the place of Ircheidi, who was ill, was taken by his son, Siriar.

The six *pòlm* of the clan take it in turn to look after the *kugvalir*, each having charge of the dairies and herd for a period of three years. Shortly before my visit, the charge had been taken over by the *pòlm* of Ircheidi and Siriar.

The following are the chief villages:—

621 *Taradr* (Tarnardmand). This is one of the most char-
234 acteristic Toda villages, situated near the road leading to the
764 Paikara falls. It is shown in Figs. 5 and 6, and has three dairies, situated at some distance from the dwelling-huts. The two dairies shown in Fig. 5 are the *tarvali* and *kugvali*, the former on the left-hand side and the latter on the right. The third dairy of the village is a *wursuli*, situated to the right of the *kugvali*.

Near the *kugvali* is a stone (shown in Fig. 24) at which the *wursulir* is killed at a Taradr funeral. The stone is called *püdrshtikars* after the name of the buffaloes (*püdrshtipir*). At a little distance from the three dairies are the remains of another *pali*, which was only used at the funeral of a male. This *pali*, like those at other funeral places had three rooms, and in the ruins at the time of my visit it was easy to make out the three divisions. When the occasion arises, the dairy is rebuilt on the day of the funeral, and the *tarpalikartmokh* takes the *mu* into the innermost room after purifying it with *tudr* bark. The body of the dead man is then laid in the outermost room and kept there till it is taken out after the slaughter of the buffaloes. If this temporary building is the representative of a former dairy with three rooms, it would seem that the village of Taradr once had four dairies.

621 *Kudrmas* (Kudimalmand). This is a *kalolmad* on the western side of the Paikara. The *kugvalir* were here during the greater part of my visit.

Telgudr (Telkodumand). This is another *kalolmad*.

Pushtar (Pattaraimand). This village is one at which the 621
tesherst ceremony (see p. 154) is sometimes performed.

Kudimad (Kulimand). This is a large village near Taradr at which many of the people live, but it is not an important village ceremonially, having only one dairy, a *tarvali*.

Near Paikara there can still be seen the remains of a village called *Pevar* which was deserted because the family which lived there became extinct.

KERADR

This is one of the smallest of the Tarthar clans, all its 618
members being included in Table 26. There are at present 621
sixteen male and nine female members.

There is at present only one *kudr*, the other having become extinct about three generations ago. As there has been no occasion for *irnörtiti*, no fresh division has been made. The *kudr* has two *pölm*, one headed by Paniolv, and the other by Teikner.

The chief village, Keradr (Kannagimand), is situated in the south-west part of the hills near the Teivali village of Keadr. Keradr is also the male funeral place of the clan and was not occupied at the time of my visit. At this time most of the Keradrol were living at Tovalkan, near Paikara, a recent village at which there is a dairy of the ordinary kind (*tarvali*).
Near the houses there is a raised mound shown in Fig. 59, [211]
erected to mark the spot on which Keirevan (26) was killed by falling from a tree into which he had climbed to cut wood.

KANÒDRS

This is one of the outlying Toda clans, and its people were [177]
said to have been less influenced by the altered conditions on
the hills than any other clan, but they seem nevertheless to 618
have given up several of their institutions. The sacred *poh* is 234
only occasionally occupied, and I am doubtful whether they can be said to be in a more untouched condition than several other clans. The people are often called the Kererol, but I could not find that there was any village of Kerer from which this name is derived, and it is possibly the name of a district of

618 234 the hills. The clan is distinguished by its possession of the conical *poh* at Kanòdrs, and by the fact that many of the adventures of Kwoto or Meilitars took place in the region it inhabits. Although Kwoto was a Melgars man, he is regarded as having a close connexion with the Kanòdrs people, and various features of the ritual of the Kanòdrs *poh* are said to be derived from him.

618 842 The clan is at present a small one, with a distinct majority of females. In fact, it seems so usual for members of this clan to have no children or only female children that there is some likelihood that the Kanòdrsol may become extinct. The present numbers are about thirteen males and twenty-three females.

618 There was some doubt as to the number of *kudr*. I was told that there are three, headed by Arsolv (27), Kineri (29), and Pòlkab (30) respectively, but at an *irnörtiti* ceremony both Arsolv and Kineri would give to Pòlkab, while the latter would give to both, so that it seems probable that there are properly only two *kudr*, as in other clans. One of these has only one *pòlm*, that of Pòlkab. The other has three *pòlm*, headed by Arsolv, Neratkutan (28), and Kineri.

621 The following are the chief villages of the Kanòdrsol:—

Kanòdrs (Devarmand). This village now consists of the *poh* only. There are still two *mani* at this village, one of which is called *Pünkòghlag*, a name closely resembling the name of the churning-stick at the *ti*. There are at present no dwelling-huts at the place, nor any remains of such huts, though it would appear from the legend of Kwoten that the village was inhabited at one time.

Piskkwosht (Bikkapatimand). This is a large village where most of the Kanòdrsol now live. The only dairy is in ruins. Close to the village there are a number of flat stones almost level with the ground (Fig. 71) which are called *Teuár*, "the god way," and are said to mark the spot where the gods (*teu*) used to meet. Just above these is a large buffalo pen, which is reputed not to have been made by man. Whenever the gods went this way they used to deposit pieces of dried buffalo-dung on this spot and these became the stones of the *tu*.

618 621 At present there appear to be seventeen males and fourteen females, but it is probable that these numbers are not complete. There are two *kudr*, headed by Kiurvan (32) and Atcharap (34). The former has three *pòlm*, of which the chief men are Puner (31), Kiurvan (32), and Orudz (33), and the latter has two *pòlm*, headed by Atcharap (34) and Kudar (35).

This clan seems now to occupy only two villages. One is Kwòdrdoni (Kodudonnemand), where there is only a *tarvali*, though there was formerly a *wursuli*, now ruined, in which was kept a *mani* called *Kirsongg* which has disappeared. The other village is *Katikar* (Kodanadmand). The male funeral place is *Iudi*, and the female, *Punmud*.

PÄM

This is a clan which formerly occupied the site of Coonoor and Wellington. Its numbers are small, probably only seventeen males and thirteen females. There are two *kudr*, headed by Udrchovan (36) and Pungievan (37). Udrchovan's *kudr* has only one *pòlm*. Pungievan's *kudr* has three *pòlm*, of which the chief men are Pungievan (37), Arparners (38) and Seili (39).

234 621 The original *etudmad* of the clan was *Pirspurs*, the site of which was used for the Coonoor racecourse. *Päm* was then adopted as the chief village, but it has been allowed to fall into ruins, though still giving its name to the clan. The dairy at Päm was called *Palikûdrbedz* and the buffalo-pen, *Tûgûdron*. *Inikitj*, where the people now live, is an uninteresting village at which there are the ruins of a *tarvali*. There is a building in which the four or five sacred buffaloes (*nashperthir*) are kept, but they are not milked as there is no *palikartmokh*.

764 The male funeral place of this clan was *Puvi*, and the female, *Kwatkash*. These were situated where the Wellington barracks now stand, and the funerals are now held near Inikitj. Fig. 51 shows the wooden *teiks* at which the sacred buffalo would be killed at the funeral of a male.

618 159 There are several stories about Karnisi (37), a member of this clan. He is said to have been an exceptionally strong

man, and the Todas tell how on one occasion two English 618
soldiers came to Päm and insulted the women and how 159
Karnisi took the two men unaided to the barracks at
Wellington.

Karnisi also spent a fortune which had been stored in the dairy of Päm for many generations. A vessel (*pun*) full of rupees had been deposited in the dairy by an ancestor of Karnisi called Kiuten. It remained there till Karnisi spent it in buying buffaloes, ornaments for his many wives and household goods. He gave some of the rupees away and spent others in travelling to Coimbatore, and in a short time the money had disappeared.

NIDRSI

The headquarters of the Nidrsi clan are to the south of 177
Coonoor. The people are closely surrounded by tea estates
and have been much influenced. It is not now a large clan, 618
having about sixteen male and twenty-five female members. 621

There are two *kudr*, headed by Todrigars (41) and Kudrmaskutan (43) respectively, each *kudr* having two *pòlm*. The chief men of the *pòlm* of one *kudr* are Puveners (40) and Todrigars, and of the other *kudr*, Kadr̀kutan (42) and Kudrmaskutan.

This clan affords a very good example of the degeneration 234
which has in some cases befallen the dairy organisation. The
people have only one *wursulir* left. The dairy (*wursuli*) has 618
fallen into ruins, and they have no *wursol* and, therefore, the
one buffalo is not milked. At a funeral of a male they
will have to procure a *wursol* from another clan to kill this
buffalo.

There are two *mani*, called *Eshkiakudr* and *Eikudr*, each [778]
with an iron chain, but as they have no *wursuli* these bells
are kept under a stone at Akirsikòdri, the male funeral village.
The other sacred buffaloes, *pineipir*, &c., are milked at a
tarvali.

There are now only four inhabited villages, and only one of 621
these seems to be of any importance.

Nidrsi. This is near the Badaga village of Hulikal. It

621 consists chiefly of huts obviously of recent construction and
not of the proper Toda form. There is a small dairy (*tarvali*)
and the situation of the former *wursuli*, almost completely
overgrown, can still be seen. There is a buffalo enclosure
called *Punatu*. The *irnörtkars* is a stone of ordinary
appearance with other smaller stones round it, and there is
also a *pilinörtkars* of which only a small piece now shows
above the ground. There is a very large *tukitthkars* at this
village (see pp. 252 and 597).

621 Another stone here is called *imudrikars* or *parsatthkars*.
Milk is put on it every morning and evening by the
778 *palikartmokh*, but it is not used in any way in connexion
609 with a funeral. The Todas relate that an Englishman shot
at and splintered this stone some years ago. Soon after he
was bitten by his horse, and he asked the Todas, with whom
he was on very good terms, what ought to be done. He was
told that he should perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony, and a few
days later he brought a three-year-old calf to the *irnörtkars*
at Nidrsi and gave it to the people. It was taken by both
kudr and the Englishman was soon well again. The whole
affair was regarded as a good joke, and is interesting as
showing that the Todas do not object to making sport of one
of their sacred ceremonies, especially when they gain an
addition to their stock of buffaloes.

621 *Akirsikòdri*. This is the male funeral village, at which there
is a dairy with three rooms, in which the body of a dead
man is placed on the day of the *etvainolkedr*.

MELGARS

184 The Tarthar clan which takes its name from the village of
618 Melgars occupies a very special position in the Toda social
organisation and in the dairy ceremonial. Although a
234 Tarthar clan, the Melgarsol in many respects resemble the
554 Teivaliol much more closely than they resemble the other
clans of their own division.

In former times the Melgarsol are said to have held the office of *palol* at the Kars *ti* and at the Pan *ti*, and to have lost this privilege owing to misbehaviour of a *palol*, of which

an account has been already given. They are still capable of 184
holding the offices of *wursol* and *kaltmokh*, for which otherwise 618
only Teivaliol are eligible, and they have privileges and duties
in connexion with various kinds of Toda ceremonial which 234
are wholly unshared by other clans. 554

Though they may still hold the offices of *wursol* and *kaltmokh*, they are not allowed to carry out certain of the duties; thus, a Melgars *wursol* may not kill the sacred buffalo at a funeral, nor may he perform any of the other duties which fall to the part of a *wursol* on this occasion.

Although a Melgars man may no longer be *palol*, the Melgars people have a large number of privileges and duties connected with the *ti*. An account of these has already been given, but they may shortly be recapitulated here with the names given to them by the Todas.

(i.) *Mòr vatiti, tòr tititi.* "Buttermilk he drinks, food he takes." The Melgars men may take buttermilk and food at the dwelling-hut of any *ti*, and they alone have this privilege at the dairies of the Nòdrs *ti*.

(ii.) *Teirpülk mad oiiti.* "He goes at the head (of the procession) to (the place called) *teirpül*."

(iii.) *Ti alugpur putiti.* "The *alug* things of the *ti* he carries."

(iv.) *Alug puts nitz ithtothi.* "*Alug* come, stand he must." The Melgars man must stand by a certain tree with the *alug* when he comes to the new place during the migration of the *ti* buffaloes.

(v.) *Erd pünrs ithtothi.* "Two *pünrs* (four days) he must be." He stays at Anto from the Sunday on which the buffaloes migrate till the following Wednesday.

In addition to these privileges, it is also the duty of the Melgarsol to carry out rebuilding or repairing operations at a *ti mad*, and he has also to assist in carrying the body of a dead *palol*.

The special duties of the Melgarsol are not limited to the 564
ceremonial of the *ti*, but in certain other ceremonies it is 796
essential that a Melgars man shall be present or take part.
He must milk a buffalo to provide milk for Tarthar women
coming out of the seclusion-hut both after the hand-burning

554 796 ceremony of pregnancy and after childbirth. He does this for women of his own clan and for those of all other Tarthar clans except that of Kwòdrdoni. A Melgars man must be present on the second day of the *irpalvusthi* ceremony of the *kugvalir* of Taradr, and the ceremony of this day, which is called *irpataduthti*, cannot take place if a Melgars man is not present.

[574] It was also said that a Melgars man must be present whenever a feast is given at the end of a period called *pon* in any clan, but I am very doubtful as to the necessity of this. I think it is probable that no feast ever occurs at which a Melgars man fails to put in an appearance, and that my informants had come to regard his presence as necessary, but it seemed very doubtful whether his presence was an essential condition for the occurrence of this, as it certainly was in the case of certain other ceremonies.

184 554 618 773 There was some difference of opinion as to the reasons why the Melgarsol enjoyed these exceptional privileges. The Melgars people themselves believed that their exceptional position was due to the connexion of Kwoto with their clan. They said that when Kwoto became superior to all the gods, and was called Meilitars, these privileges were given to the clan to which he belonged. According to another account, the position of a Melgars man at the head of the procession of the Nòdrs *ti* was settled by Anto in order to appease the buffalo Enmars when two of its bells were taken away and given to the Pan *ti*. Others, again, said that the privileges of the Melgarsol were given as a recompense when this clan was deprived of its privilege of becoming *palol*. There is little doubt that the real reason for the Melgars privileges has been lost and that different reasons have been sought in the Toda legends. The Melgars people have chosen a reason which gratifies their pride in claiming Kwoto as one of themselves, while other Todas have reasons which serve to add to the importance of the sacred institution of the *ti*, of which they are so proud.

184 554 618 There are other special features in which the Melgars people differ from the rest of the Tarthar clans. They have no *wursulir*, though they can become *wursol* to other clans, so

234

that, in this respect, they resemble the Teivaliol in being able 184
to tend buffaloes which they do not themselves possess. 554
Another difference is that the *palikartmokh* of the Melgarsol 234
uses *tudr* bark in his ordination ceremonies, and this gives
him a higher rank than other *tarpalikartmokh*. It is on this 618
account that a Melgars *palikartmokh* may not visit the
tarvali of another clan (see p. 66).

The Melgarsol again resemble the Teivaliol in not shaving 184
the head after a funeral, as is done by Tarthar clans other
than that of Melgars. 554

The Melgarsol resemble the Teivaliol in so many respects 618
that it is tempting to suppose that this clan must at one time have formed part of the Teivali division and for some reason was transferred to the Tartharol. Every Toda whom I questioned on the point was, however, certain that the Melgars people had always been members of the Tartharol.

There are two facts which show that there is some 618
special relation between the people of Melgars and those of
Kwòdrdoni. One is that intermarriage is said to be prohibited 621
between members of these two clans; the other is that the milking by a Melgars man when a Tarthar woman is leaving the seclusion-hut does not take place in the case of a Kwòdrdoni woman. These facts point to some relation between the two clans of which I was unable to obtain any account.

The Melgarsol form a fairly large clan, having at the present time about thirty-one male and twenty female representatives. They have at present only one *kudr*, the other having become extinct about eight years ago on the death of Tikon (49). A half-sister of this man is still living, but the *kudr* has no male representative. During the last eight years, the Melgarsol have had no trouble (*kaspel*) which has made it necessary to perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony, but should the occasion arise, a *naim* would decide on a re-division of the other *kudr*. I was told that the matter was continually the subject of discussion, and it seemed probable that the nature of the re-division was already more or less arranged, but would not be definitely settled till the occasion arose.

618 would thus be twelve *pòlm*. This is not consistent with the
621 information given in connexion with the *pepkaricha* ceremony
(see p. 169), from which it appears that there are fifteen
heads of families in the Kuudrol. It may be that the *pòlm*
and family do not correspond with one another, or there may
be some other explanation of the discrepancy.

The following are the chief villages of the Kuudrol:—

Kuudr (Kundakodumand). This is a large village with substantial huts in the Tamil style which have been built by Kuriolv. There is a large dairy, the *tudrpali*, and a smaller dairy, the *kidpali*, in front of it, with two buffalo enclosures (*tu*), one apparently for each dairy. In the large *tu* there are three stones called *keinkars*, *tashtikars* and *mutchudkars*, all of ceremonial importance (see p. 169). Growing in one side of the *tu* there is a tree called *teikhuwadiki*, under which the *mu* is buried.

[312] As usual, water is taken from two sources, and at Kuudr that used for sacred purposes is drawn from a spring, called *kiznir*. The origin of this spring has been already given in connexion with the prayer of Kuudr, in which this and other events in the history of the village are commemorated. The special relations between Kuudr and Òdr have been already considered in the account of the latter village.

● 234 *Kiudr* (Kengodumand). This village has a somewhat
621 anomalous position in that, though not the chief village of its
clan from the social point of view, it is in many ways more
778 sacred than Kuudr.

[342] It is a very picturesque village, shown in Fig. 7, in which there are two dwelling-huts. That shown in the figure is one of the largest and best constructed of existing Toda huts, having been rebuilt recently under the direction of Kijievan (50), who has a special reputation as an architect. It was at this village that a pregnant woman was not allowed to come to the hut, but had to remain at some little distance, and the sacredness of the hut is also shown by the fact that the prayer of this village provides the only instance in which the *kwarzam* of a hut occurs.

The dairy is situated at some little distance from the huts, quite out of sight of people at the latter. On going from the huts to the dairy a shallow stream flowing over broad flat stones is crossed. This stream is called *Keikudr*, and is of some ceremonial importance (see p. 307). 234 621

The dairy which is called *Kilpoh* is shown in Figs. 20 and 31, and is a large, well-built structure of the ordinary shape. It is situated within a high wall, which is much thicker than usual, and in front it must be several yards across, so that it is possible to walk about on the top of it. On this wall, on the right hand side, are two old stones (shown in Fig. 31), called *neurzülnkars*. Close to the dairy there are two ancient and weatherworn stones, shown in Fig. 32, to which the same name is given. 778

There are six bells in the dairy. Two are kept on the *patatmar* and are called *patatmani*, the individual names of the bells being *Mudrani* and *Kerani*. The other four are called *ertatmani*, and are kept on the *ertatmar*; their individual names are *Pongg*, *Nongg*, *Pundrths*, and *Pan*.

Kiudr is one of the villages which was said to have been at one time a *ti mad*. In favour of this is the fact that its dairy is called *poh* and that there are stones called *neurzülnkars* which are usually found at a *ti mad*. The people have also to play a part during the procession of the buffaloes of the Nodrs *ti*, and there seems to be little doubt that the village is in some way especially connected with the *ti* institution, though exactly how is uncertain.

Kiudr is certainly a village especially revered not only by the Kuudrol, but by all Todas. It is a *sati mad*, and any Toda will be believed if he speaks in front of its dairy. Another sign of the sanctity of the dairy is the fact that the ceremony of *pilinörtiti* may be performed here not only by members of the Kuudr clan, but also by any other Toda.

Molkush. This is a recently established village, little more than a quarter of a mile from Kiudr. The scenes shown in Figs. 16 and 17 were taken at this village. It has no dairy and the milk of the ordinary buffaloes is churned in the dwelling-hut. This village may be regarded as an adjunct to the sacred village of Kiudr, at which the ordinary buffaloes are tended. At the time of my visit the wife of one of the men who usually lived at Kiudr gave birth 621

588 XXII) are frequent, and, indeed, it seems to be the rule for
616 connexions of this kind to be formed between members of the
574 two divisions.

The only definite restriction on social intercourse is that
486 a Teivali woman may not visit a Tarthar village, so that if a Tarthar man becomes the *mokhthodvaiol* of a Teivali woman, he has to visit her at her home, or may go to live at her village altogether or for long periods. There is no similar restriction on the visits of Tarthar women to Teivali villages, and at the time of my visit at least one Tarthar woman was living altogether at the village of her Teivali consort.

The prohibition of the visits of Teivali women to Tarthar villages is said to have had its origin in the misbehaviour of certain Teivali women who once visited the village of Nòdrs, but I did not learn in what their offence consisted.

616 The most obvious features which mark off the two divisions
from one another occur in connexion with the dairy organisa-
● 234 tion. The most important dairy institutions of the Todas
793 belong to the Tartharol, but their dairymen are Teivaliol.
184 This applies not only to the *ti* dairies, but also to the *wùrsuli*
dairies of the Tarthar villages. The highest dairy office, that
554 of *palol*, can only be held by a Teivali man, while the lower offices of *kaltmokh* and *wursol* must be held by them or by one of the Melgars clan of the Tartharol. According to tradition, the members of the Melgarsol were also at one time capable of holding the office of *palol*, but lost the right owing to the misbehaviour of one of their number. As I have already suggested, the Melgarsol may have been formerly a Teivali clan, but on repeated inquiry, it seemed clear that they had always been Tartharol, so that at one time in Toda history certain Tartharol were permitted to hold the highest dairy office as well as the lower grades for which they are still eligible. The position of the Melgars clan is, however, so much of a mystery in itself that it can contribute little to the understanding of our present difficulties.

Although the Teivaliol hold the highest dairy offices, and while holding them have a very high degree of sanctity, it is quite clear that, apart from the holding of these offices,

198 shown by him and by other Teivaliol because I had been
616 told of their peculiarities of language than was ever shown
after the exposure of deeds distinctly immoral even from the
554 Toda point of view. I shall return to this subject again
shortly; I mention it here because it seemed to me to afford
the clearest evidence that the Teivaliol were conscious of
their own inferiority in the social scale.

In the story of Kwoten we find that the Tarthar hero is
616 accompanied by Erten of Keadr, a Teivali man, and the
latter was said to have been the servant of the former. This
suggests the possibility that at one time the Teivaliol may
have acted as servants to the Tartharol, even more definitely
than at present.

184 At the present time there are some features of the social
616 organisation and social life which might be held to weigh
strongly against the idea that the Teivaliol are the inferior
623 division. The *monegar* of the Todas is one of the Teivaliol,
177 and the most influential member of the *naim*, or council, at the
present time is a Teivali man. I believe the monegarship,
651 however, to be a recent institution, possibly dating only from
the advent of Europeans to the hills. The chief duty of the
monegar is the collection of the assessment made by the
Government, and it is quite consistent with Toda ideas that
this troublesome, and from their point of view menial duty
176 should be handed over to one of the Teivaliol. The great
184 power of the Teivaliol in the *naim* is probably still more
recent and due to the influence of one man. The Teivaliol
616 should have only one representative on the *naim*, while the
623 Tartharol should have three, and it is entirely owing to the
powerful personality of Kuriolv that this balance has been
disturbed, and that the influence of the Teivaliol is so
predominant. It is possible that Kuriolv will do much
to obliterate the social inequality of the two divisions, though
I suspect from what the Todas told me that it is intended to
revert to the old order as soon as he dies.

184 There is one custom which shows very clearly that it is
only as dairymen that the Teivaliol have any sanctity. If the
234 sacred buffaloes (*pasthir*) of the Teivaliol go to a Tarthar village,
616 they may be milked either at a *wursuli* or a *tarvali*, and the

Tarthar people may use the milk. If Tarthar buffaloes, 184
however, go to a Teivali village, the Teivaliol may neither 234
milk them nor use their milk or its products. Thus buffaloes
which are normally milked by a Teivali dairyman when at 616
their own village may not be milked by Teivaliol at a Teivali
village, while there is no restriction on the milking of Teivali
buffaloes by the Tartharol.

Although the Tartharol are in the habit of speaking of the Teivali dairymen as their servants, they have no means of enforcing service. The post of dairyman of any kind is one of profit, and, as we have seen, when the post, even of *palol*, ceases to bring a sufficient income, the Tartharol fail to obtain people to occupy it.

In the ceremonial of the dairy, the relation between the two divisions is entirely one-sided. The Tartharol own the buffaloes and the dairies, and the Teivaliol do the work. In certain other ceremonies, there is more reciprocity in the relations of the two divisions to one another.

The Tartharol have certain definite duties at a Teivali 616
funeral and the Teivaliol at a Tarthar funeral, and in most 764
cases the duties are thoroughly reciprocal and the two
divisions appear to act on equal terms. Thus, in the earth-
throwing ceremony, the earth is dug by a Teivali man at a
Tarthar funeral, and the Tarthar men before they throw ask
the Teivaliol whether they may do so. At a Teivali funeral
these positions are reversed. Similarly, the buffaloes are
caught by Tartharol for Teivaliol and *vice versa*.

On the other hand, there are some ceremonies in which the
Teivaliol have definite duties to perform at a Tarthar funeral
which are not reciprocated. In the earth-throwing ceremony
of the Tartharol, earth is first thrown by the Teivali *wursol*,
but he does this as dairyman and not as one of the Teivaliol.
The *koòtiti* ceremony of the second funeral is, however, only 616
performed at a Tarthar funeral, and in it a Teivali man 765
plays an important part, wearing the cloak which has been
covering the relics and adorning himself with women's 184
ornaments. He hangs on the neck of the calf the bell
called *tukulir mani* and touches the relics with the bow and
arrow after asking the Tartharol if he may do so. It is said

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[For the association of buffaloes with Toda funeral rites, see category 116, pp. 174-185.]

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originated in any defensive project, whether as protection
from the attacks of man or the inroads of wild animals.
351 Taken with the extreme narrowness of the gap left in it for
361 egress, there seems no doubt of its having been designed
417 merely to keep the half-wild cattle off the premises, lest they
should trample on the children in their stampedes, or should
rub their bodies against the low houses in their hours of ease.
Neither the wall nor the enclosed area is in any degree
sacred.

417 In close proximity to the Mand will invariably be found the
234 pound or pen—Tûel[2]—into which the buffalos[3]—Êsm*
Er a female—of the village are driven every evening on return
from the grazing grounds. This pen, which varies in dimensions according to the wealth of the community in cattle, is
fenced in strongly; in some places by a wall from four to five
feet in height: at others by a fence of stout branches—when
it is termed Mên Tûel—according as the site happens to be
prolific in stone or timber.

[342] The herd of buffalos, being thoroughly competent to protect
itself from wild beasts, is left in this pen without further protection, and, indeed, without any shelter, though the calves
—Koan a male, Karr a female—whilst quite young are shut up
at night in little huts situate close and often contiguous to
the people's dwellings.

333 Deserted cattle pens have at times been mistaken for
417 Druidical circles. When the enclosure wall has been made of
large blocks of stone, and where from paucity of material it
had been constructed of double rows of stone filled in with
soil, and the earth had in due course been washed away, then
000 the stones left standing would remain in very religious form;

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[2] Tûar, Tûel. Tamil, Suvar. In all the Drâvidian dialects *s* and *t* are interchangeable. Thus Shrî becomes Tiri. Ar and El are affixes which are used in the formation of nouns. [POPE.]

[3] When Todas talk of their cattle generally, the word Êr is invariably used.

*[Letters did not reproduce here in the original text—Analyst]

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 · Toda

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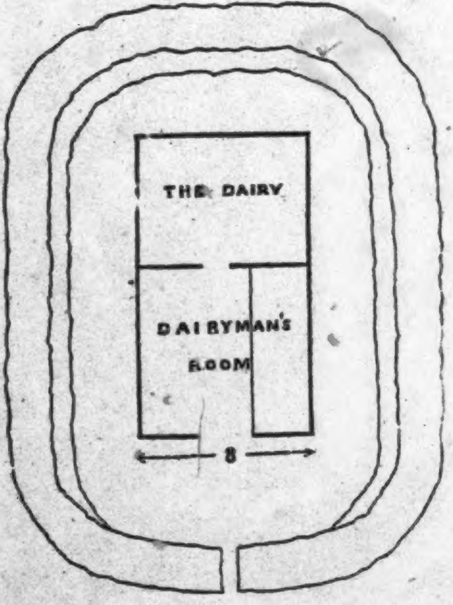
most attractive to the wandering archæologist who did not know of the primitive habits of this pastoral race.

In addition to the dwelling houses just described, every Mand, without exception, contains a house devoted solely to the purposes of a dairy—pâlthchi—consisting of two rooms;

No. 12.



THE DAIRY—PÂLTHCHI.

the outer—porram-âl-g-ârsh—for the residence of the dairyman—pâlkarpâl[4]—and the inner room—ulg-ârsh—for the storage

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[4] Pâlkarpâl. This is one of the most remarkable examples of the identity of Toda and Tamil.

This is pâl—karr—p—âl; where (1) is the Drâvidian word for *milk*;
(1) (2) (3) (4)
(2) is the root of the verb = *to milk*; (3) is the suffix forming the verbal noun, *milking*; (4) = *person*. [POPE.]

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of milk—pâl—and for its conversion into clarified-butter.[5] This
building varies in size according to that of the village herd;
234 from the dimensions of an ordinary house of two rooms, to one
343 perhaps half as large again. It is situated somewhat apart
361 from the Mand, and—presumably for the sake of coolness—is generally found on a site which has been partially dug out from the side of the hill, on the slope of which the Mand is situated. The dairy is always enclosed within its separate wall, which is built very close up to it, and the outside of the wall often earthed in. The outer door is much of the size of those in ordinary dwellings, but that in the partition wall, forming the only means of access to the dairy room within, is of minute dimensions; probably one cubit high and about half a cubit broad.

361 The accompanying typical plan of a Mand will explain the description which has just been given. The village itself is invariably situated in the open, exposed to the sun almost from daybreak to sunset, but sheltered by the hill side from the full force of the wind.

The Todas have been credited with some taste in the selection of sites for Mands; owing to the beauty and often romantic nature of their situations; invariably on some open grassy slope, where wood and spring or rivulet combine. But I more than doubt if any innate sense of the beautiful influences them in the choice; for neither do their heads, nor do their other acts, give probability of the possession by them of any taste. I am disposed to attribute the success of these happy selections to the fact that, acting with a very strong practical sense of the advantage of localities, they have, whilst seeking shelter for themselves and cattle from the monsoon storms, with a dry bit of soil in proximity to water and fuel—the whole centrical with regard to pasture—obtained, by means of the natural advantages of a lovely land-

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[5] Known in India as ghi; in Toda termed nei.

CHAPTER VIII.

FOOD.

Diet—Kûtu—Badaga and Kota Neighbours prey on the Todas—Todas give away valuable Property—Not flesh eaters—Ceremony of eating Buffalo flesh—Don't drink Spirits—Children's Food—Family Meals—Grace before Meat—No Weapons of the Chase—No variety of Live Stock.

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THE Todas have no sports or games, except the innocent tip
cat, corresponding in its play very much with our boys
524 game of rounders. No violent exercise. No means of settling
526 disputes by scientific personal conflict, as in wrestling, fencing
578 or boxing. Nothing in fact pointing to natural turbulence
411 of character and surplus energy. They wear no weapons of
224 offence or defence. They do not even hunt, either, for the
sake of providing themselves with food, or for the pleasure of
the chase.

241 They do not attempt to till the ground.

234 The products of the buffalo form the main staple of Toda
262 diet. No doubt, at some time or another, they depended upon
that animal more than they do now; in a period when they
177 were isolated from contact with agricultural races. Now they
262 are well supplied with the ordinary cereals of the country, as
437 rice, wheat, barley, varieties of the pea, millet and other
439 small grain, also sugar, salt, and tobacco; all of which items
427 are, and for many generations have been, either purchased
from the surrounding tribes by the barter or sale of their own
surplus nei, or obtained by the levy from their neighbours,

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000 think it ridiculous, or the knowledge of it superfluous to the rest of mankind. Far from its beliefs and practices being a rubbish-heap of miscellaneous folly, they are consistent and logical in so high a degree as to begin, as soon as even roughly classified, to display the principles of their formation and development; and these principles prove to be essentially rational, though working in a mental condition of intense and inveterate ignorance.'[1]

322 Our friends appear to *dream* buffalo. Sitting, apparently
532 'thinking of nothing at all,' a man will pick up a bit of cane or forked twig from the ground, and like the typical Yankee is supposed to whittle a stick while he speculates, so the Toda will employ himself for an hour at a time, splitting his bit of cane or rounding the little branches of his twig into the likeness of buffalo horns, as he muses. Children may be seen coming in from cattle-driving, with strings of these small horns. And these treasures are found lying about their houses and haunts. Two of them are shown in Photograph No. 15.

182 In the history of most, if not of all nations, savage and
771 civilised alike, we may trace the alliance, more or less intimate,
234 of religion, in its various rites and performances, with food; in its nature, source, or care, or in the occasions or symbols of its use. This correlation is certainly a marked feature in Toda customs. Though the Todas have no actual religion or system of faith leading to the performance of duties to a God, yet they hold to certain practices and certain habits in daily life, which are to them in the place of a religion; being performed with all the strictness and certainty that should be bestowed on sacred observances.

234 These performances or habits are intimately allied with
778 the care and distribution of the *divine fluid*—milk. The buffalo is to a certain degree held sacred, as being the

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[1] Tylor, 'Primitive Culture,' vol. i. p. 21.

CHAP. XIII.

234 778 [198] chief gift of the Gods: and the fountain of all milk. Hence they hold the care and milking of these animals and the charge of the dairy, to be amongst the highest and most respected offices. The buffalo is treated with great kindness, even with a degree of adoration, by the people; scarcely touched with the light wands they carry, but guided and called by a sort of buffalo-language which they understand, and obey with some intelligence.

177 634 262 431 But they give away the young bulls to the Kotas. It has been a question whether or not they ever eat the flesh themselves, and I experienced much difficulty in ascertaining what I now believe to be the truth; that they part with the bulls, because, whilst they will not eat the flesh, they cannot permit them to crowd on land required for the grazing of the cows. That they do not sell them, may no doubt be in part attributable to the uncommercial nature of their dispositions. But I think it also possible that the Badagas and Kotas work on the sense of respect for the animal, which the Todas are known to entertain, to make it a custom not to dispose of the buffalo for money. Although it is certain that no Toda will eat buffalo flesh unless in part of the ceremonial described in Chapter VIII., yet, curiously enough, they do not hesitate to mortgage even the cows to the Badagas, though knowing that in such an act, the chance must always exist of the animal's being seized for the non-fulfilment of the terms of the bond; when of course it would be impossible to say what would become of them.

234 778 There exists a marked connection between the buffalo and the chief material objects to which any form of religious service is paid; viz., certain ancient cattle-bells, which originally came from amnôr, and though only cattle-bells—konku—yet by virtue of a great antiquity are now venerated as Gods, and styled konku Dêr or maṇi Dêr.[3] This is the Toda faith.

Every village drove does not own a bell, but certain bell-

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[3] Konku dêr = *bell-god*, maṇi dêr = *relic-god*. See Chapter XVII., note 6.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

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cows of the sacred herds only, which are attached to the holy Mands, termed tiriêri.[3] The size of the droves varies, from accidental circumstances, between the numbers 10 and 60: and somewhat in proportion to the dimensions of the herds, from one to three bell-gods belong to a tiriêri.

The bell-cows, for whom, by the way, the Todas have no specific name, are not selected on account of their good milking qualities, their size or beauty, but are the descendants in direct female line from certain originals whose early history has been lost. I have the following information on the subject from the highest authority; viz., a priest of the tiriêri, styled pâlâl, retired from the active business of his calling. He told me that no matter how old and worthless the bell-cow might become, the bell belonged to her till she died: when, without fail, it was transferred to her daughter. Moreover, that if the mother should have left no such female issue, a bell-cow would be procured from one of the other tiriêris: or the holy Mand would itself be broken up, and the entire herd amalgamated with that of some tiriêri still possessing a bell-cow.

The bell-god is never worn by the bell-buffalo, but is always kept in the priest's house; no one but a man of that office being permitted to touch or even to see it.

The same holy man who gave me the above information, also described the installation of a new bell-cow. Twice a day, morning and evening, for three successive days, the priest waves the bell with his right hand, round and round the head of the bovine heiress, talking to it the while, much as follows:

> What a fine cow your predecessor was!
> How well she supported us with her milk!
> Won't you supply us in like manner?
> You are a God amongst us!

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[3] Tiriêri = *holy place.* Tira or tiri is the recognised Drâvidian corruption of the Sanskrit shri = *holy, sacred.*

Ari or iri, from the Drâvidian root, which is variously written ir, ur = *be, exist.* Ur = *a village,* is from the same root. [POPE.]

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77[illegible]

Don't let the tiriêri go to ruin!
Let one become a thousand!
Let all be well!
Let us have plenty of calves!
Let us have plenty of milk!

During three days and nights the bell is kept fastened round the cow's neck. On the morning of the third day it is removed from her neck, and lodged in the priest's house. It is never worn again during that cow's lifetime.

The entire tiriêri herd is far more sacred than any of the ordinary village droves of buffalos, and the bell-cows are infinitely more sacred than any other cows of the sacred drove. So far as I could ascertain: whilst the bell-cow is the direct lineal descendant, from mother to daughter, from some remote but sacred ancestor, the remainder of the tiriêri herd are the offspring of some original drove, whose members are probably related to the bell-cows.

A certain number of bulls are retained in the sacred herd; those male calves which are not wanted being given away to the Kotas. The finer animals are retained. When a young bull has arrived at mature age, and has proved his vigour, he undergoes a process of sanctification before he is permanently installed; by being isolated for a day and night in a small pen in the sacred woods of the tiriêri, during which time he is deprived of food, though allowed access to water. He is not a very sacred character. In fact it is permissible to introduce a bull from an ordinary drove, after due sanctification.

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It appears to me as somewhat remarkable that a people so fond of simple regulation and undeviating rule, should permit the principle of female succession amongst their cattle, whilst maintaining agnate law amongst themselves. I cannot admit the contrast between the two systems to be merely the result of accident. Knowing the direct simplicity and good sense of

the savage mind, I see the probability that once on a time, the scheme of inheritance and of kinship, both among themselves and for their buffalos, was identical; viz., through the 174 female line. And the more remotely ancient the mode of 234 Toda life, and the nearer it approached to man's primæval con- 611 dition, the greater the probability that the habits of animal and man approached one another in general similitude.

Before proposing for consideration the conclusion which I 000 draw from the facts of early identity and present difference in such customs, I will give an extract from a well-known work on primitive marriage. Mr. M'Lennan in striving to show 'that the most ancient system in which the idea of blood-relationship was embodied, was a system of kinship through females only,' writes: 'considering that the history of all the races of men, so far as we know it, is the history of a progress from the savage state; considering the social condition of rude tribes still upon the earth—remembering that the races which can be traced in history had all a previous history, which remains unwritten—it cannot seem a very strange proposition that there has been a stage in the development of human races when there was no such appropriation of women to particular men—when, in short, marriage as it exists among civilized nations was not practised. We believe that we shall show, to a sufficient degree of probability, that there have been times when marriage in this sense was yet undreamt of. Wherever this has been the case, the paternity of children must have been uncertain; the conditions essential to a system of kinship through males being formed, would therefore be wanting; no such system would be formed; there would be—there could be—kinship through females only.'[4]

In Chapter XXVII. reasons for my belief are given, that 174 with polyandry came the change from promiscuous unions and 234 kinship through the female line, to inheritance through males 611

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[4] M'Lennan, 'Primitive Marriage.'

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only—the system which now obtains amongst these people—in which argument I am glad to find Mr. M'Lennan almost entirely with me.

Now therefore, I would advance the suggestion, that the system of kinship in cattle, through their *cows*, is perhaps contemporaneous with the age when the Todas also, prior to the introduction of polyandry, held to the practice of kinship through the female line. In which belief are grounds for confidence in the very high antiquity of the Toda bell-gods.

The worship of the *bull*, may possibly be a further development of cattle worship.

CHAPTER XIV.

TIRIÊRI PRIESTS.

The Pâlâl—The Kâvilâl—The Pâlâl is a God—The Peiki Clan termed 'Sons of God'—Duties of the Pâlâl—No mysteries—Sacred nature of Priests—The Pâlâl becomes man again—Purification for holy orders—The Tûde tree; its botanical name and distribution—The use of the Tûde, an ancient practice—The Pâlâl enters on his duties.

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EACH tiriêri, with its drove of cattle, is in the charge of an ascetic milkman or priest, styled pâlâl,[1] and an equally ascetic, though not equally holy, herdsman or kâvilâl.[2] And according 234
as the herd may be small or large, there are found from one 463
to two of the former, and from one to three of the latter, 793
attached to the tiriêris.

The pâlâl, whose personal acquaintance I had made in the 793
course of taking information on the interesting subject of the 124
bell-god, was a man of about thirty-five years of age, who had spent some fifteen of them in holy orders, vacating his post in favour of a brother. The effect of that lengthy period of ascetic and solitary life on his personal appearance, was somewhat striking. It was perhaps *de rigueur* for one who had so long been in sacred office to wear his hair dishevelled, and to neglect the cleanliness of his person: but the more than usually motionless eyebrow, the gloomy solemnity of his look and his

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[1] Pâlâl, pâl, is the Drâvidian word for *milk*; âl = *person*.

[2] Kâvilâl, kâval = *guard*; âl = *person*.

The former is a Turkish word. Yet kâ is the Drâvidian root for *protect, guard.* In Tamil we have a kind of reduplication of it; thus, pâtu,kâ. The Sanskrit corresponding root is pâ. [POPE.].

IAP. IV. fixed wooden face, were not the results of fashion, but the action of a second nature that had been moulding him for years.

793 124 But bread and sugar hath its charms. Under its influence, he softened out and became affable. Waiting till he had finished the meal I had given him, the first of a series of questions suitable to an *ex*-pâlâl, was put. 'Is it true that Todas salute the sun?' I asked: 'tschâkh!' he replied, 'those poor fellows do so, but me,' tapping his chest, 'I, a God! why should I salute the sun?' At the time, I thought this a mere ebullition of vanity and pride, but I have since had opportunity of testing the truth of his speech. The pâlâl for the time being is not merely the casket containing divine attributes, but *is himself a God.*

463 554 793 Let me here describe the duties of the pâlâls and the mode of their ordination. These holy men, who must invariably be selected from the Peiki clan—the members of which style themselves Dêr mokh, or children or sons of God or of the Gods—are not in any way educated to their office; nor by mature age, superior talent, wealth, or other form of influence, are they of themselves worthy of unusual respect. They are just ordinary ignorant villagers, with sufficient shrewdness or impecuniosity, to note in the lonely post, certain very material advantages, combined with those of a more ethical nature, sufficient to compensate for the monotonous duties and isolation of the life.

212 788 793 No Toda being able either to read or write, and each pâlâl being as absolutely ignorant as the last, and as his own successor will be, it is quite clear there can be no dogmas of an abstruse nature, and none but the most simple rites to transmit at time of relief.

000 234 788 The universally defective size in the organs of Caution and Secretiveness observable in the tribe, produces an open nature of disposition, such as renders it almost impossible to conceive the existence of any very mystic rites among them. Whatever is done in these tirièris, is known to every intelligent

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

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284 member of the male community, and I have little doubt, to
788 every inquisitive woman also. That these performances have
hitherto remained unknown to the English public, arises from
the simple cause, that they have not been carefully enquired
[124] into. I have before stated that the people do not talk freely
on subjects they hold to be sacred; from some feeling of awe
or reverence. But, if spoken to quietly, they will be found to
be like sieves, and to reveal everything they know.

173 The simplicity of their faith and the crudeness of their rites is
such, that the circumstance of their traditions being handed
234 down by memory, is deprived of any element of the wonderful,
788 more especially so when it is remembered that the entire detail
of each tradition is known throughout the tribe. Notwithstanding, nothing is more possible than that names, rites, and
traditions, transmitted in such fashion, may undergo a certain
degree of change in the course of generations. How can
there be mysteries without a permanent priesthood?

785 Not only pâlâls but kâvilâls also, though mostly married
793 men, yet live celibate lives, separating themselves from family
and relations during the period of their holy vocations. The
778 pâlâl, as being by far the more sacred, may be touched by no
one on earth but a pâlâl, not even by his fellow-labourer and
servant, the kâvilâl. The breath even of a human being is
defilement—not so that of a buffalo—men must therefore
keep at a respectful distance; which appears to be about five
yards. Women are not permitted to *approach* either tiriêri
or holy men. Even the pâlâl's father must bow down before
him. *He is a God*, and for the time loses his personal name,
being known only as the pâlâl of such a tiriêri.

554 These sacred characters may however resign their posts
793 when they tire of their solitude, so soon as a substitute can be
found willing to devote himself to the life of celibacy and
privation. And the pâlâl may become man again, by the simple
process of setting aside his black mantle: though he retains

CHAPTER XV.

PRIESTLY DUTIES.

Pâlâl's daily routine—Salutes the sacred Herd—Milks the Cattle—Libations to the Bell-gods—Names of Toda Gods—Does the conception of invisible Gods arise from deficient organ of Form?—Todas revere Light, not Fire—Who is the Kâvilâl?—Pâlâl demonstrates that he is never touched—Milk held in religious regard—Pâlâl collects Kûtu for his Mand.

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THE daily routine of the pâlâl's mysterious office was described to me nearly in the following words. 'On rising in the morning, I wash face, hands, and teeth, with the left hand.' In daily human life he had invariably used the right hand for this purpose; such being the custom with all Orientals certainly, who, eating with their fingers, find it necessary to reserve the right hand for that especial object. But remember the pâlâl is now a God, and to the pure all things are pure—fact!

'Then entering the inner room—ulg ârsh—of the house,' which is reserved for dairy purposes, the outer room—porram âlg ârsh—being the pâlâl's sleeping apartment, 'I make a leaf-lamp, into which I put clarified butter and 5 wicks, thus,' spreading out his fingers. I could not ascertain if the number 5 is essential, but it appeared to me to be so. 'The lamp is put into a niche in the wall, opposite the bells, which hang on the separate prongs of a stick thrust into the thatch of the roof. And I light in silence, nor salute either light—belak—or relics—maṇi.'

'Having taken up my wand and honnu or milk-pail, which

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is a bamboo joint, used as a pail to contain milk, 'I go out to
my buffalos. They are all expecting to be milked, and turn
234 towards me as I stand at the gate of the pen. I salute them
788 by holding the wand in the right hand, with the honnu
793 hanging from the fingers of the same hand. I bring the whole
to my forehead.' Here rising, with stick in hand and my
penknife thrust between his fingers, he enacted the pantomime
of saluting the sacred herd. Moving his body on his legs as
a pivot, he turned slowly from right to left in silence, describing
a small arc of a circle, as if to include the whole of a herd
standing crowded in the fold before him. He did so without
bowing, keeping his body nearly erect throughout, and without speaking.

Noticing his silence, he replied to my enquiry, 'I do not, like the common people in the Mands, say danenma, mokh ultama, and all the rest of it. No, and I don't say nin arzbini.'[1] He is now a God, and quite the superior of any buffalo.

'I alone, or if the drove is large, assisted by a fellow-pâlâl, milk the cattle—the kâvilâl may not do so—lodging the honnus of milk in the dairy.

778 'On entering the inner room of the dairy, I go up to the
788 bells, and dipping my hand into the milk'—here makes a
little cup of the top joints of his fingers—'pour a few drops
793 on each bell three times, muttering with each libation the
776 names of the following Gods:—

Ânmungâno Godingâtho
Beligoshu Dekulâria
Kazudâva.'

The pâlâl being himself a God may with propriety mention the names of his *fellow-Gods*, a license which is permitted to no one else to do.

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[1] Nin arzbini—*I adore thee*. See Chapter XVII., on the êtud Mand, for the application of these words.

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776 793 'These are good Gods, Gods of the whole Toda tribe, and not Gods of my tiriēri only. I have never seen them. They are invisible, but ever present with us.'

Can it be possible that the invisible—shapeless—nature of Toda Gods, is a conception occasioned by the deficient organ of Form, which I have already noted as being a cranial peculiarity of this people? Was the faculty small with the Jews also?

234 793 'I then proceed to make nei from the previous day's milk. After which, I prepare my own and the kâvilâl's food. The last thing at night is to replenish the lamp.'

778 442 793 There were three bell-gods in my informant's tiriēri. He said that in some there were two, in another only one; but in none more than three. Axes for cutting fuel are kept by the kâvilâl in his own house in the tiriēri, apart from the dairy. They are tabued to other people, and for other purposes.

771 372 I was careful to enquire from this man if the people in saluting the sun and moon, and he in placing lights in the tiriēri, worshipped light—belak, or fire—diṭth. The reply was satisfactory; he distinctly repudiated the notion of the adoration of fire.

778 793 234 It has been stated that the pâlâl may not be touched by anyone on earth, save by a pâlâl, during the period of his priesthood, not even by the kâvilâl. It will be seen by what follows, that the kâvilâl also, though not to be compared with his master in point of sanctity—one indeed being a God, whilst the other is only a man—yet shares the exclusiveness of his life. He too has been sanctified by his influence of the tûde, and lives apart from the world: yet his office is of an inferior degree. He devotes his life to the duties of herding the cattle on the hill-sides, cutting firewood, et cetera: but he may not milk the cows, nor touch the relics, or approach within several paces of the pâlâl. Thus whilst he is an associate in the austere privations of the life to which he has devoted himself, yet does not participate in the glory of the office.

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identity of character which forms the marked peculiarity of
extremely primitive races, and common interests, are the
watchwords. The whole tribe is of one mind, and as un- 000
changeable in disposition as a herd of dumb animals.

A certain amount of superstitious, or shall we say religious, 272
regard is paid to the article *milk*, and in a less degree to the 778
honnu which holds it. Until of late years, milk would never
be adulterated. The honnu is tabued for ordinary purposes; 234 ●
indeed the people do not like it to be taken up carelessly;
preferring that it be not touched at all. In this sensitiveness,
one notices the feeling which has no doubt participated in
forming some of the caste rules of the Âryas. As might be
anticipated, the milk from the sacred herd is held in still
greater reverence; the holy men of the tiriêri may consume
as much of it as they please, but what is over *must be made
into nei* before being sold; it must not leave the tiriêri in its
natural form.

'The nei which we don't eat ourselves, I sell to the Badagas, 234
who in return supply me and my family with grain, clothes, 437
and a little money.' Very little of the last commodity pro-
bably. Thus as we observe, the inducement to become a pâlâl, 793
over and above the glory of position, is the profit from the 556
sale of nei of the sacred drove. A very neat perquisite for
'the Sons of God,' with which to repair broken fortunes.

The pâlâl rarely leaves the tiriêri Mand, but he occasion- 177
ally visits the Badagas villages; obliging the people, through 793
influence of his supposed powers of witchcraft, and the great
sanctity attaching to his person, to comply with his demands 754
for little luxuries of food, and for the grain due to his tiriêri 692
as kûtu. He has nothing whatever to do with births, marriages, or deaths, though he is sometimes consulted for the adjustment of disputes.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE TIRIÊRI.[1]

A Tiriêri Mand described—Names of Tiriêri—We visit the Tiriêri and see the Bell-gods—The holy Domain—The Priests are away—Who erected these upright Stones?—The Priests return—A Bargain struck—'Gods of our Fathers'—'These be your Gods'!!

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A tiriêri Mand, which is the residence of the pâlâl and
kâvilâl, consists of two houses; the one a dairy or pâlthchi,
343 in which the pâlâl lives and makes his nei, the other a house
234 for the kâvilâl and his implements for cutting fuel. The two
342 houses are a little apart, and separated by the tûars which
surround them. A cattle pen, also encompassed by its wall or hedge, occupies a position close by. The site is invariably a spot secluded by natural advantages from contact with the outer world, and having the usual adjuncts of water, grazing and wood land.

There are at the present time, five tiriêris belonging to the tribe—there have been more—whose names are as follows;—

Pûrth
Mâr
Kudar
Markush
Puzhash.

361 And exactly in the same manner as I have explained in
621 Chapter VI. that ordinary Mands have their duplicates and
221 even triplicates, so these tiriêri Mands have also their corre-
sponding sites to which the little colonies move at certain seasons, for the sake of fresh pasturage.

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[1] The derivation of the word has been given in note 3 of Chapter XIII, on the Bell-gods.

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Having ascertained that the tiriêri, with its sacred herd and its maṇi dêr, was indeed the mainspring of the entire religious faith and social system of the Todas, it became a matter of great moment to ascertain by personal inspection the secrets of its penetralia. Our *ex*-pâlâl had indeed with great apparent sincerity divulged the whole of the hidden mysteries, even to the extent of naming the Gods of his forefathers; names held in great veneration: when spoken, only pronounced in an under-tone: and which no European, and probably no native beyond the tribe, had ever previously been allowed to hear. Here would be the test of his veracity both on this subject and in other cognate matters on which we had consulted him.

We must see the inside of a tiriêri: we must view the relics, the Gods. Such was the programme: and money would of course perform the work of the magic words 'open sesame.' Calling therefore at our friend's Mand, we readily induced him to accompany us to view his old tiriêri. 'But you must not go close to the dairy' he said. Oh no!

We strolled along the pretty slopes of the verdant hills together, and he guided us over the squashy bogs, and through the ever-silent woods: and again out on the green wild, and through further nestling woods, with the cheery spring sun overhead; all in the direction of his tiriêri.

No one to overhear us out on this prairie! Now is the time! 'Bültaben'—such was his mundane name—'we want to go into the dairy of the tiriêri. You are an old pâlâl. Here is money.' 'Just to peep in at the door from a distance?' he asked. 'No, but to look at the relics in the inner room.' He stopped short, tucked his stick under one arm, and pressing the tips of all his fingers to his eyes, exclaimed, 'May both my eyes drop from their sockets, but I cannot do such a thing.' After a pause, 'The Gods would vacate the tiriêri Mand if anyone unsanctified entered it, and its pâlâl would be ruined.'

This was awkward. Another suggestion: Let us see the relics. Let the pâlâl bring them outside that we may view

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them. We won't go near.' Ah! that is feasible! The bargain is struck forthwith.

234 On we went again, much refreshed by our success, cross-
778 questioning our guide on points of religion till he was fuddled.
124

> 'On he fares and to the border comes.'

Rising to the ridge of a prolonged knoll, he stopped and pointed below: 'There!'

Down we go into the sacred hollow. The solemn Toda, still more grave, some enthusiasm kindling his dark eye as he looks across at the place where for half a lifetime he had been a God. Over some little burns, past a group of sacred calves, looking in their dirt and stolid impudence, anything but reverential towards the *ex*-pâlâl—they were of this year's growth, and did not recognise him—up again out of the hollow: when, as we near the rounded crest of a long hillock, we find ourselves opposite two neat, but undersized houses, with a dilapidated buffalo pen. 'The tiriêri Mand! Don't go near!' So, like shying horses we circle round the spot, till we reach the ridge.

We are at the sanctuary, and in the middle of the holy domain. The pâlâls and kâvilâls are out. We will sit down and note the place till they return.

000 A pure green cameo of wide extent! the edge formed by an amphitheatre of hill, crowning

> 'with her enclosure green
> As with a rural mound, the champain head.'

The arena filled with ceaseless undulations of grazing land; winding through which, a noble stream, and a score of sparkling rivulets cascading down the distant hills. A long tongue of grass land projects from one side of the hilly margin into the weald. At the root of the tongue, a wood; on the margin of which the sanctuary, near which we sit, 'taking notes.'

Wood, water, herbage, in combination with a seclusion so complete, as to include a deep sense of perpetuity. Surprising rest and peaceful beauty!

CHAP. XVI.

778 Archæologists have observed on such stones, which are to be frequently seen on these hills, and have asserted that they are worshipped by the Todas as lingoits. Whatever the origin of these stones, one thing is absolutely certain; that the Todas do not regard them in any way.

124 'They come,' said he at last, pointing to the hills near us.
773 Sure enough, four little figures—two clothed in black—are ap-
778 proaching in the jerky step of men descending a steep incline,
234 and at intervals—no touching allowed—'Listen! O listen!'
shouts our conductor over the intervening hollow. They all stop. 'Two gentlemen have come to see you: let the kâvilâls remain behind, and you come o-o-o-o-on.' Sly fox, our Toda! There are to be no witnesses!

In the space of a few minutes, two gentlemen in black mantles—lamp-black and mustard-oil—with wands in their hands, keeping step as they walked,[1] had come up to about
[481] ten yards of us. We all sit down inside the circle of our own shadows.

Time is valuable; for the kâvilâls are waiting; so the interview is short. We are not to touch: merely to look at the maṇi from a distance. We are not to approach the dairy: pâlâls and kâvilâls to be paid.

There is no delay, no holy dilatoriness in bringing out 'the Gods of their fathers.' If we could have watched the pâlâls with our eyes, we must have seen them bound in through the outer door of the dairy, scramble through the inner small one, and wrench off the treasures; for in less than a quarter of a minute, they were standing before us holding their Gods in their hands.

778 Two buffalo-bells—konku—apparently of copper with some brass, dented and old: might be of any age; one about 5 inches diameter and 6 inches high, the other a little less.

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[1] This is not the first time I had noticed Todas keeping step in walking. A most unusual sight in India, even amongst trained native soldiers off parade.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE ÊTUD MAND.

Customs of the Village Dairy or Pâlthchi—Duties of the Pâlkarpâl—Important difference in the duties of the Pâlâl and Pâlkarpâl—The Tarvâl—The inside of a Dairy—The Dairy of an Êtud Mand is a Shrine—The Badagas term it Mui Mand: why?—Toda form of oath.

CHAP. XVII.

THE customs and ceremonies of the tiriêri or Toda cathedral—seat of a divine milkman, established as the medium of conveying the Gods' gift to man—are repeated, though in less awfully sacred form, in every Mand of the tribe; in the village dairy or pâlthchi.

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The configuration of the dairy has already been described in Chapter VI.

Similarly as one or more nearly-naked recluses belonging to the Peiki clan, are established as pâlâls for the care of the tiriêri, assisted by their kâvilâls; so a lesser luminary, generally from the same clan, is the unclothed, ascetic, but more mildly sacred pâlkarpâl,[1] who, also living *en garçon*, but without any pretensions to God-head, presides over the dairy of each village, helped under certain circumstances by a somewhat similar character in the vorshâl.[2] Both of these men also, have been purified in that wonderful juice which qualifies to the holy offices of milking buffalos and the charge of relics.

I state that the pâlkarpâl is generally, though not always, of the Peiki clan; for as I observe, the Peikis permit the

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[1] Pâlkarpâl. See note 4 of Chapter VI.

[2] See note 4 of Chapter VIII.

unprofitable office of kâvilâl, and that of pâlkarpâl in villages, to be performed by members of the inferior clan of Pekkan. 234 793 618 Moreover, in the care of dairies belonging to their own clan, the Peikis seem often to be content with the services of a Pekkan. I do not feel certain of the cause of this arrangement.

234 621 It is the duty of the pâlkarpâl to milk the village cattle, and to store and partition amongst the various families of the Mand, the shares of the divine fluid and of the nei he has made therefrom.

[778] The village pâlthchi appears not to have any lights; for the reason perhaps, that it has no relics. However that may be, the pâlkarpâl and his companion, the vorshâl, may alone penetrate even the outer room of the dairy. Men and boys freely enter so far as the precincts of the tûar, and village feasts are [562] often given close about the outside. But the dangerous sex are not permitted, even near the walls: and in the instance of more important villages, termed êtud Mand,[3] they may not approach within about one hundred feet of it.

234 793 788 The duties of the pâlkarpâl in these pâlthchis are very similar to those of the pâlâl in the tiriêri. The only differences, appearing to arise from the latter acting throughout, the part of a God, the equal of his own relics, which are also Gods, and as the superior of his cattle, the gift of the Gods: whereas the former is merely a holy man engaged in the service of the Gods.

Thus, we have seen in Chapter XV. the pâlâl saluting the cattle, as a God in Toda opinion, should do—in silence. But the pâlkarpâl, in making his obeisance, does so as their servant or dependent, saying, danenma, mokh ultama, âl ultama, êr ultama, karr ultama, ellam ultama.[4] Moreover, when he carries his honnu, containing milk, into the dairy, he repeats the formula as he crawls in through the inner door.

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[3] Êtud. This word seems allied to the Drâvidian root ettu or êttu, *raise—lift up*. [POPE.]

[4] See note 5 of Chapter VII.

When the pâlthchi belongs to an ètud Mand, the relics within are Dêr. And the pâlkarpâl being only a humble servant, does not presume to mention the names of these Gods, as the deified pâlâl in *his* dairy, may with the greatest propriety do. But in pouring a few drops of milk, three times on each relic, he merely mutters nin arzbini, nin arzbini, nin arzbini I adore thee, I adore thee, I adore thee. 234 ● 793 778 788

Mr. Metz tells me that in certain cases an additional servant, the tarvâl,[a] would sometimes be employed. His exact occupation is not understood.

Evidently there are dairies and dairies. There is the pâlthch of the unimportant village which is merely a dairy, in charge perhaps of a stripling. Such a one I have entered, and will describe. There is the dairy which is manifestly something more; that belonging to an ètud Mand. And there is the most sacred dairy of all; that which appertains to the tiri̇̀ri; the holy of holies, already described. 234 778 554

In all cases, whether the charge be big or small, the servants of the sacred house, are by virtue of their office, treated with respect by the people; they are spoken of in an undertone and in a reserved manner: they are saluted: neither they nor their implements may be touched.

I had made several unsuccessful efforts to penetrate the dairy of an ètud Mand, but was always discovered when seemingly on the eve of success. Taking advantage therefore of a fog I paid a visit to the pâlthchi of an ordinary Mand, which I had observed, not to be much watched, and to which a wood afforded means of secret approach. The pâlkarpâl was fortunately absent, so crawling in, I could observe at leisure. The outer room was fitted up in every way as an ordinary dwelling, suited to the simple requirements of a bachelor of the olden time; an axe for cutting wood was 234 343 342

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[a] Tarvâl. In Tamil we have taravu = *the order of a master* or *superior*. The forms, tara, taru in all Drâvidian dialects, have kindred ideas. [POPE.]

CHAP. XVII.

lying in a corner, and the man's bed was on one side of the door. The door in the wooden partition wall which led
234 to the inner room or dairy proper, was of unusually small
843 dimensions—about a cubit high, by half a cubit broad—and
342 blocked up with a slab of stone. This I removed, and after penetrating the dairy, closed it behind me.

I now struck a light and leisurely examined everything in roof, and on floor. The inventory was of most simple detail; viz., the usual fireplace of three small stones—one at back, and one at each side—an earthenware vessel or two, and a few honnus for holding milk. No bell, no relic, nor lights, nor niche in wall. Only a large pair of buffalo horns, made with unusual care, of bamboo bound with cane, which I found thrust into the thatch: and several smaller horns made from twigs; all of which will be found represented in photograph No. 15. Without doubt there were no stones for any other purposes than those described.

234 It has puzzled me much to discover, in what way, êtud
778 Mands should be, as the meaning implies, 'great' Mands, and
621 why their dairies should be held in more reverence, and be guarded with more care than those of ordinary villages. In a general way, they appear to be somewhat larger than usual. One can see that their droves of cattle are of more than common size. And so the impression left after a visit, is that there is something of the cathedral about the spot. These are, however, signs that such dairies are great, but do not afford the reason why they are so. And there was no one to explain. The people themselves had probably never thought of a reason; they had been satisfied with the knowledge which had grown with their growth, that it was an êtud Mand. I will now give the result of my own enquiries and speculations.

A certain number of dairies are said by the Todas to contain a kurpu* or relic of an ancestor; a ring for instance, a hatchet

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* Kurpu. Drâvidian. Tamil has kuri = *indicate, point out.* Kuripp

CHAP. XVII.

or other imperishable article, even as is said, a bell—konku. That many of these êtud Mands contain kurpus, I have ascertained by direct enquiry. 234 That they all do so, or are supposed by the people to do so, is my belief. 778 Hence we see the êtud Mands are *shrines*; the shrines of a race which burns 621 its dead.

Now the Badaga name for such a village is mui Mand.[7] 778 And as the very intimate knowledge which this cognate tribe 627 possesses of Toda practice, would probably cause the word mui to be descriptive; it would materially assist us in our enquiries if we knew exactly what it does mean.

It has been ascertained that the Todas often settle disputes amongst themselves at these places—the tiriêri being too sacred to be approached for such purposes—challenging one another to make good their word, by repeating it at the êtud Mand. By joining all these notes together, I can frame an explanation that appears to me quite reasonable, and in consonance with my knowledge of the people's habits and mode of thought. They evidently consider the dairies containing kurpus, or relics of their ancestors, in the light of shrines; and in consequence, the precincts and presence to be holy ground; so holy that men would be restrained from lightly uttering a falsehood at such spots.[8] Hence it is, that these 'great' Mands are used for

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—verbal noun = *a sign, indication, memorial.* The Kanarese uses guri. [POPE.]

Maṇi. Sanskrit maṇi = *jewel, bell.* Used in all the Drâvidian languages. [POPE.]

Mr. Metz draws a distinction between kurpu and maṇi; the latter is specific and implies a *metal ring* or *bell.* Thus although a maṇi is with this people always a kurpu, every kurpu is not a maṇi. It may be an *axe* or *staff.*

To me it seems that the word maṇi is a refinement introduced through contact with the Hindus; giving a more distinctly religious, sacred or holy meaning to the sentiment implied in the kurpu.

[7] Mui. In old Kanarese Muyyi is *retaliation.*
Mû in Tamil is *old, venerable.* [POPE.]

[8] Mr. Metz tells me that an oath is taken, by removing the mantle, and stepping over it, in the presence of the êtud Mand.

CHAP. XVII.

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the purpose of considering matters of weight concerning a large circle of families. This belief is greatly strengthened by the knowledge that throughout the East the practice is common, to hold similar meetings at shrines of holy men; Pirs, Jogis, Fakirs, &c.

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That an êtud Mand should have larger herds of cattle than ordinary, may be accounted for by the practice of the people to give cattle in fulfilment of a vow; that if so and so occurs—a son is born for instance—the gift of a cow or calf will be made to the dairy.

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It is important that we arrive at some decision on the object and use of a dairy which occupies a position so manifestly conspicuous amongst their social institutions: to enable us to clear our minds as to all the components of the Toda faith. So long as we do not know what an êtud Mand is, we should always feel that some material portion of their religious system remained unexplained.

CHAP. XXI.

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When all the animals have thus been seized, and stand grouped in the pen, in separate knots, each consisting of a snorting buffalo, hard held, head and tail, by a few perspiring and breathless men, the bars of the gateway are withdrawn. One struggle more on the part of the cattle, as they pass through the gateway, to get free. Then the plunging, scuffling masses are brought down to the âthârê, where, one by one, as narrated in the last chapter, these milch cows are killed. As each is felled, and comes down on its knees, the mantle containing the ashes of the dead is laid on the ground, so that the nose of the prostrate creature may rest on the cloth, giving out its life in contact with her master's remains.

The mourners, at this time fondle the animal's face, as in the first funeral, giving way to tears with every appearance of deep and poignant grief. In their wailing, 'the expressions of sorrow,' writes Mr. Metz, 'to which they give utterance, are generally in the form of questions to (the spirit of?) the deceased; such as "Are you suffering from fever?" "Are your buffaloes thriving?" "Why did you leave us so soon?"[1] "Have you gone to amnôr?"'

Mr. Metz found that in the midst of this crying they would hold out their hands to him for a present; from which circumstance he concludes that the lamentations are uttered, not from grief, but simply pursuant to established custom. I conceive that formerly, when the obsequies took place very shortly after the green funeral, these cries were probably genuine, but that the postponement of the ceremonies of the dry funeral for the period of about a year, has no doubt injured the reality of the scene.

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I have said that one buffalo for each person whose funeral is being celebrated, wears a bell—getti. This bell is not holy, but purchased in the bazaar. I could not find a reason for the practice, receiving the usual answers to my enquiry: 'It is shastr,' or 'It is our custom,' or 'Dêr or Swâmi made it so.'

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[1] Often said, 'You have been but three days with us.'

It may be, that the bell is a religious symbol of the bell-god 234
—konku dêr. (Note, that herds of cattle, ordinary village 765
droves, never wear a bell.) 793

I was careful to ascertain if, as has been asserted, a priest 764
superintended on these occasions.[1] My informant, the *ex*-pâlâl, told me, 'We—the pâlâl and kâvilâl—have no duties at a kêdu, nor do we receive presents after a death. If anyone has seen us at a funeral, it is because we want to know what is going on in the district, for we live such lonely lives. But we keep at a distance, because no one may touch us.'

What I have narrated, is a just description of funeral 183
obsequies properly executed, and as indeed, so far as ad- 764
herence to form goes, they are carried out to this day. But I 765
have ascertained, without any doubt remaining in my own 775
mind, the truth of what Dr. Shortt has written;[6] that old 178
and barren cows are often slain at these funerals.[7] It was formerly the custom to despatch a considerable number of the deceased's own herd for his support in amnôr. But whether the rise in value of buffaloes, or any increase of relative poverty amongst the people, has rendered them loath to deprive the living of a valuable means of sustenance; or if the fact of the Governing Power having limited the slaughter, has demoralised their minds, are points which I cannot decide. The truth remains, that whilst still believing in the necessity for providing the deceased with nutriment, they practically lessen that reduced limit, by despatching what no one knows better than they do, is actually worthless.

This early step in civilisation is, then, a pace backwards —commercial gain, by moral loss.

On the morning after the bara kêdu, before daybreak, the 765
mantle containing the ashes is taken to the âthârê, at which 775
the original cremation took place. Another buffalo is then killed—a male if for a Peiki or Pekkan: a female if for any of

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[6] Shortt, 'Tribes on the Neilgherries.'

[7] See Chapter VII., where I write on the sources of nicknames.

[1] [The bara Kêdu, or second funeral -- Analyst]

CHAP. XXIV.

II. Each clan has grazing and forest land of its own, which is divided between the villages of the clan, each village being
183 situated in its own land.

421 III. Each village is the abode of a family or intimately
621 related portion of a clan, whose cattle are herded together.

IV. Whilst the land is in each case, the property of the
618 village itself, and cannot be alienated or sold, with or without
423 the consent of the occupants;[5] the cattle which graze on it, are
● 234 the private property of individuals, being males.

V. The milk of the entire herd is lodged in the pâlthchi, or village dairy, from which each person, male and female, receives for his or her daily consumption;[6] the unconsumed balance being divided, as personal and saleable property, amongst the male members of all ages, in proportion to the number of cattle which each possesses in the herd.

VI. The grain food collected in the form of kûtu,[7] from the Badagas, is divided amongst the community.

[562] VII. No females, whether married or single, possess property: but, under all circumstances of life, are supported by their male relations; being fed from the common stock.

428 VIII. When a father dies, his personal property is divided equally among all the sons. If the deceased, being an elder brother, should have no sons, his next brother inherits the property.

[611] IX. All children of both sexes, belong to the father's family:
and inheritance runs through the male line only. Thus (1)
if a widow should re-marry, her sons by both marriages, have
claims on their respective father's property. (2) If a widower
marries again, his property will be inherited by his sons of
851 both marriages, equally. (3) If one or more women are in
595 common to several men, *each* husband considers *all* the

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428 Badagas, is, curiously enough, not employed by the Todas, who have *no word* for clan.

[5] Mr. J. Breeks, late Commissioner of the Neilgherries.

[6] See Chapter XVII. for the management of the dairy.

[7] See Chapter VIII. on the custom of collecting kûtu.

621 They live in villages called *mands** (*Plates* VIII., IX.), of which the following
361 description is given in Dr. Shortt's work :—

of life.

" A *mund* or *mott* is the term used to designate a hamlet or village by the Toda
342 tribe. Each mund or hamlet usually comprises about five buildings or huts, three of which are used as dwellings, one as a dairy, and the other for sheltering the calves at night. These huts or dwellings form a peculiar kind of oval pent-shaped construction, usually 10 feet high, 18 feet long, and 9 feet broad. The entrance or doorway into this building measures 32 inches in height and 18 in width, and is not provided with any door or gate; but the entrance is closed by means of a solid slab or plank of wood from 4 to 6 inches thick, and of sufficient dimensions to entirely block up the entrance. This sliding door is inside the hut, and so arranged and fixed on two stout stakes buried in the earth, and standing to the height of 2½ to 3 feet, as to be easily moved to and fro. There are no other openings or outlets of any kind, either for the escape of smoke or for the free ingress and egress of atmospheric air. The doorway itself is of such small dimensions, that, to effect an entrance, one has to go down on all fours, and even then much wriggling
325 is necessary before an entrance can be effected. The houses are neat in appearance, and are built of bamboo closely laid together, fastened with rattan, and covered with thatch, which renders them water-tight. Each building has an end walling before and behind, composed of solid blocks of wood, and the sides are covered in by the pent-roofing which slopes down to the ground. The front wall or planking contains the entrance or doorway. The inside of a hut is from 8 to 15 feet square, and is sufficiently high in the middle to admit of a tall man moving about with comfort.
519 On one side there is a raised platform or pial formed of clay, about 2 feet high, and covered with sambre or buffaloe skins, or sometimes with a mat. This platform is used as a sleeping place. On the opposite side is a fireplace and a slight elevation
354 on which the cooking utensils are placed. In this part of the building faggots of
352 firewood are seen piled up from floor to roof, and secured in their place by loops of rattan. Here also the rice-pounder or pestle is fixed. The mortar is formed by
415 a hole dug in the ground 7 to 9 inches deep, and rendered hard by constant use. The other household goods consist of 3 or 4 brass dishes or plates, several bamboo measures, and sometimes a hatchet. In one hut I found an old table knife, two empty beer bottles, and a broken goglet.

351 " Each hut or dwelling is surrounded by an enclosure or wall formed of loose stones piled up 2 to 3 feet high, and includes a space or yard measuring 18 × 10 feet."

621 The inhabitants of a mand are generally related to one another, and consider themselves one family. The family will possess one or two, sometimes three mands
234 in different parts of the hills, to which they resort periodically for grazing their buffaloes. Each mand has its acknowledged pasture ground, which is not encroached upon by

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* Derived from *Mane*, Canarese for *House*, pronounced and commonly spelt *Mund*. The words *Mott* or *Mortt*, which so often appear in old records, seem also to be corruptions of *Mand*.

621 others. Each householder in the mand has his own cattle, which he can dispose of
absolutely, and their milk is kept for his use; but the whole mand herd graze together,
234 tended generally by the village *pūjāri* (priest), who milks them morning and evening in
the monsoon months, and morning only at other times. The milk of all is kept in one
dairy-house, which none may enter but the *pūjāri*.

Each family has a recognised head, in whose name the Government grazing
421 *pattā** is made out. On the death of the head the eldest son generally succeeds. One
428 old Toda, however, when I asked him which of his sons would take his place, replied,
"the wisest." (Compare *Menu*, Chap. IX., Sec. 117:—"Let the eldest have a double
592 "share, and the next born a share and a half, *if they clearly surpass the rest in virtue
"and learning*." Sir W. Jones' translation of the *Institutes* shows that the saving
clause of the above section is one of the numerous interpolations by which commentators
have attempted to harmonise *Menu's* precepts with modern practice. It is curious to find
the same qualification acknowledged by the Todas). The father's property is equally
divided among all his sons, but the house goes to the youngest, upon whom falls the
duty of supporting the females of the household.

181 The Todas are a purely pastoral people. They have large herds of buffaloes, and
depend for support on their produce, with the addition of the *gūdu*,† which they
177 levy in kind from Badagas and Kotas. Labour of any kind they hardly ever attempt;
indeed so entirely incomprehensible is the notion to them, that when, on one occasion,
651 an unlucky mistake about the ownership of some buffaloes committed an old Toda to
461 jail, it was found impossible to induce him to work with the other convicts, and the
authorities, unwilling to resort to harsh measures, were compelled to save appearances
by making him an overseer.

313 Of late years one or two have taken contracts to fell wood,‡ but the result has
not been satisfactory to the employers.

531 The women do a coarse kind of embroidery with blue and red thread procured from
the low-country, for ornament to some of their cloths. They use the Nilagiri nettle for
294 stitching their cloths, and English needles; formerly their needles were made by the
Kotas. They also cook and fetch water, the men fetch firewood. Whether they live
262 entirely on grain and milk seems doubtful. They admit that they at one time used to
eat their male buffalo calves, but deny vehemently that they do so now, having
apparently imbibed from their Hindu neighbours an idea that the practice is disgraceful. It is suspicious, however, that the skins of buffalo calves are found in their

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* *Pattā*, commonly spelt *puttah* or *pottah*, is a document given by the Collector or Chief Revenue Officer of a district, however styled, to a landholder or other person having rights connected with the land, specifying the conditions on which the land is held, or the nature of the rights.

† *Gūdu*.—Name known among the Hill tribes for the annual gift of grain made by the cultivators to the Todas; said formerly to represent about $\frac{1}{12}$ or an $\frac{1}{8}$ or $\frac{1}{6}$ of the gross produce. *Gūdu*, Canarese for *basket*, *nest*. The Badagas, after threshing in their fields, bring the grain to the *Kēri* (terrace in front of their houses), and measure it off by baskets before they store it in the granary beneath the *Kēri*. One basket or *Gūdu* out of so many is set apart for the Todas.

‡ See letter to Government appended to Preface. It was said that some Todas worked on plantations, but on further inquiry this was found to be a mistake.—*Editor*.

177 mands, and I cannot find that in a single instance has *gûdu* been claimed* for lands disposed of by Government.

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Thus the rights of the Todas remain to the present day. They receive *gûdu* from the Badagas and Kotas, more or less according to the season and the means of the cultivator, and they retain possession of their village sites and the surrounding lands under grazing *pottâs*, for which they pay two annas an acre in lieu of the taxes formerly levied.

They have an effective mode of extracting the *gûdu* from a refractory Badaga village without reference to law courts. Throughout the district, wherever Badaga cultivation has extended, the Todas have reserved the old sites of their mands and buffalo kraals,† and have persuaded the Badagas that these places, however long abandoned, and now surrounded with cultivation, are in some sense sacred. When a difficulty about the *gûdu* arises, the Todas, by way of an ultimatum, make ready the nearest abandoned mand for habitation. The prospect of having a herd of Toda buffaloes *kraaled* in the midst of their fields soon brings the Badagas to reason.

793 There are five kinds of priests, who rank as follows:— Relig Rites Cere

234 I. *Pâlâls* (*Plate* XII.), who, according to the regular sequence of Toda ideas, are a mixture of ascetic and herdsman. They live at isolated mands called *Tiriaris*.

"No female is allowed to go near the mand, nor can any man hold converse with "the Pâlaul without special permission, and then only at a considerable distance.

* * * * *

"Great sanctity attaches to the person of the Pâlaul in the eyes of his Toda brethren, "and he therefore exerts a powerful influence over their minds. They believe that "God dwells in him, and makes known His will through him to those who come to him "for counsel."‡

There are about nineteen *Tiriaris* occupied at certain periods of the year by five *Pâlâls*; two, whose head quarters are near Mukkurti Peak (*Plate* XII.), two near Nanjenâd, and one near Kodanâd. They have charge of sacred bells, which they carry from mand to mand. The *Pâlâls* must be Peikis; the *Tiriaris*, however, belong to certain Tarserzhâl mands, the inhabitants of which elect the *Pâlâls*, and furnish each with an attendant called a *Kavilâl*, who may be either a Peiki or Pekkan, and gets six rupees a year, his food, and a cloth, which however he may not wear when in immediate attendance on the *Pâlâl*.

The latter gets nothing but the milk of the sacred herd, which is kept for his use at the *Tiriari*; he holds office as long as he chooses, generally for three or four years. One is said to have been *Pâlâl* for fourteen years, but this is mentioned as something extraordinary.

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* *Proceedings of the Board of Revenue*, No. 4,749, 29 July 1863, and *Mr. Grant's Letter* of the 17th idem. "Provision was always made in the leases for payment of *gûdu*, and for a few years it was enforced. But "the amount did not exceed a few annas, and the Todas did not care to ask for it."

† *Kraal*, a circular enclosure, in which cattle are penned at night, surrounded by a rough stone wall.

‡ *Tribes inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills*, by Mr. Metz, p. 19.

793 They do not wear the ordinary *Pútkuli*, but a scanty black cloth called *Tunni*, made specially for them by the Badagas of Jakanēri.

● 234 "The preparations for this supposedly sacred office occupy a whole month, and the " exposure to which the aspirant to it is subjected is so great as to place his life in " some peril. For eight days and eight nights he must remain in the jungles without " a particle of clothing to protect him from the severity of the climate. His body is " at this time to be rubbed over with the juice of a certain tree called Fūr or Tūr, the " botanical name of which I do not know. After this the purifying juice is washed " off, and he is allowed to enter a small hut, which is the only shelter he is permitted " to have during the remainder of the period."*

II. *Varzháls*, who undergo the same preparation as the *Páláls*, but for a shorter period. They are employed as village milkmen, and may be either Peikis or Pekkans. They hold office temporarily, and during their tenure must abstain from intercourse with women. Whilst employed in their official capacity they may only wear the langooty.

III. *Kokvali*. There is only one, who appears to be identical with the Varzhál in all but the name; he lives at Tärnät mand (*Plate* VIII.).

IV. *Kurpuli*. There is only one, who lives at the Kenna mand of Kándal, and must be a Kenna. In other respects he is the same as the *Varzhál*.

V. *Pálikärpáls* may be of any clan, but Peiki and Pekkan mands must have Peiki and Pekkan Pálikärpáls. They are not obliged to abstain from intercourse with women, and can wear the *Putkuli* while performing their duties as village milkmen.

234 There are two kinds of temples:

778 I. *Boa*, a conical roofed temple surrounded with a low wall (*Plate* XIII.).

II. *Pálthchi*, a temple resembling in outward appearance an ordinary house, but
346 larger. Of *Pálthchis* there are two varieties; the first the dairy-house, of which every
793 *mand* possesses one at least; the second variety, though similar in appearance, is something more than a dairy-house, and wherever found, the mand is called by Todas
621 *Eladmand* (*Great Mand*), and by Badagas *Mui mand*, in contradistinction to a *Buri* or common mand.

Both *Boas* and *Pálthchis* are used as dairies, the only difference apparently being that the priests may live in the latter, and not in the former.

When a mand has two temples there are generally two priests, one a Varzhál, and the other a *Pálikärpál*. Each has his own division of the village herd to milk, and his own temple in which to keep the milk and ghee. The *Boa*, if there is one, is appropriated to the *Varzhál*.

234 There are four *Boas*:—

(1.) Called *Mánboa*; at Muttanád *mand*, about four miles from Ootacamund on the
778 left of the Segūr road.

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* *Tribes inhabiting the Neilghery Hills*, by Mr. Metz, p. 19.

234 (2.) Called *Kiurzh;** at the *Tiriari* mand near Sholūr.
771 (3.) Called *Törzhva;* at the *Tiriari* mand on the Kūndahs.
(4.) Near Brikapaṭṭi; called *Mutterzhva.*

346 Formerly there was a fifth called *Katedva* near Mukkurti at Mudimand. It is now in ruins.

Every clan has its own *Muimands.* I give a list, with the name of the presiding God and Bell, where there is one. 103

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Peiki Muimands (*Etadmands*).

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Name of Mand.	Name of Temple and presiding God.	Name of Bell.
1. Karia	Marialph.	
2. Yemagal	Poltivasāri.	
3. Ebgôdu	Nalkanash.	
4. Kengôdu	Kyadf	Mírzhan. Ertâtu. Kírzhan.
5. Kundigôd	Térvalth.	
6. Melgod	Nirzâlva.	
7. Pilondugôd	Térvalth.	
8. Mardini	Nirzâlva.	
9. Denâdu	Apurshanash.	
10. Wongôd	Nirzâlva.	
11. Karimolu	Toriâldf.	

Pekkan Muimands.

1. Manjakal	Môddva.	
2. Narigo	Tvarieldf.	

Kenna Muimands.

1. Kandal	1. Torzhaldf	Narâl Kantshu.
	2. Karzhaldf	Ponâl Kantshu.
2. Kandiko	Térvalth.	
3. Ar	Tilthbóa	Karidzand (2 bells here so called).

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* Measurements :—

From top of roof to ground	16′
Inside diameter, north to south	9′ 2″
Do. do. east to west	8′ 2″
Outer circumference two feet above ground	34′
Height of doorway, inner and outer	1′ 7″
Breadth do. do.	1′ 2″
From eaves to ground	3′ 5″

The door faces West. The interior is in two compartments, divided by seven thick beams standing on end. The centre beam, in which the inner doorway is cut, is about 1½ feet broad, and reaches from the ground to the conical top. The other six beams are of like thickness, but of less breadth and length.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE BELL-GODS.

A religion based on the care of the Cow—Milk a Divine fluid—The Cattle-bell, a God—The Bell-cow—Her ancestral line—The Bell-god—Installation of the Bell-cow—The Tiriêri—The sacred Herd—Bulls of the Herd—Sanctification of Bulls—Agnate law amongst the Todas; Female succession for their Cattle—Antiquity of Bell-gods.

CHAP. XIII.

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● 234

NOTHING amongst the peculiarities of this very peculiar people is more striking than the absorbing importance they attach to all duties connected with the management of the buffalo and her chief product. The animal is the focus of all village life; the nucleus or centre upon which their entire religio-social system is based. One cannot imagine the Toda apart from a consideration of his buffalo; and when we reflect how entirely dependent the man is upon the animal—how, with only a light and pleasant expenditure of patience and perseverance, he finds the coarse grass of his hills turned into good nutriment; the care of the buffalo, so far from appearing anything extraordinary, only fits into its natural place as a necessary sequence. We are reminded, too, that the milk-giver and the bull have been, and still are, objects of especial care and of worship amongst other races that own Western Asia as their cradle-land. It also carries us back to the time when man depended upon his flocks and herds for existence. We actually see him in process of forming a religion, based upon the care of the cow.

000 'Few,' writes Mr. Tylor, 'who will give their minds to master the general principles of savage religion, will ever again

181 which haunt the hills, although the latter, as I can testify, frequently
attack and kill his buffaloes. During my sojourn out
there, parties of Todas would often come many miles distance to
give us information of these occurrences, both for the sake of the
enam, or present, they got for so doing, as well as to obtain the
assistance of a rifle or two, to rid them of their enemy. The
practice on these occasions is to repair to the spot where the
carcase of the partly-eaten buffalo has been left, and to lie in
wait till dark for the tiger, which invariably returns at night to
147 feast on his prey. To show the activity and endurance of these
men, I may mention that I have seen them at such times, after
having walked ten or twelve miles in the heat of the sun, stand
talking to one another till our horses were ready, and then, without
any sort of refreshment or rest whatever, set out on their return
with the greatest alacrity, keeping up with us the whole way.

136 The buffaloes in question are of the kind one sees in Egypt and
on the plains of India, black-skinned, ungainly animals, sparsely
sprinkled with long coarse bristles, and having wide-spreading
flattened horns. The herds belonging to the Todas comprise,
however, very much larger and finer animals than are to be found
in the low country; they are, moreover, exceedingly savage when
Europeans come near them. I have frequently been charged by
a whole herd when on horseback, and obliged to take to a smart
canter to avoid them. Nevertheless, one may see them any day
343 driven at will by little naked Toda urchins. Each *mund* has an
417 enclosure or pen called a *Tooel*, in which the buffaloes are confined
at night; it is generally circular in form, and consists of a
234 low wall of loose stones surrounding a sunk area within. As
these pens are never cleaned out, the interior becomes in time so
much elevated, that the fence has to be heightened by the addition
of thorns and cut branches. When the buffaloes come home
at evening, the Todas who may be standing near invariably salute
them with the greatest gravity and respect. Though they have
numerous large herds of these animals, the Todas never kill them
778 for food, keeping them solely for the sake of their milk. There
are a certain number of sacred buffaloes belonging to each of their
terrarees, or holy places, and these are never milked, but with
their young by their sides, lead a privileged life, the honour being
262 apparently hereditary. Milk is, it may be mentioned, the principal
diet of these people, either in its natural state, or sour, like

religion of this exceptionally interesting tribe, numbering, 114
according to the latest census returns, 807 [161]
individuals, which inhabits the Nīlgiri plateau. I shall,
therefore, content myself with recording the rambling
notes made by myself during occasional visits to Ootacamund
and Paikāra, supplemented by extracts from the
book just referred to, and the writings of Harkness and [127]
other pioneers of the Nīlgiris.

The Todas maintain a large-horned race of semi- 233
domesticated buffaloes, on whose milk and its products 234
(butter and ney)* they still depend largely, though to a [443]
less extent than in bygone days before the establishment [178]
of the Ootacamund bazar, for existence. It has been
said that "a Toda's worldly wealth is judged by the 556
number of buffaloes he owns. Witness the story in 233
connection with the recent visit to India of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. A clergyman, who has done mission work among the Todas, generally illustrates Bible tales through the medium of a magic-lantern. One chilly afternoon, the Todas declined to come out of their huts. Thinking they required humouring like children, the reverend gentleman threw on the screen a picture of the Prince of Wales, explaining the object of his tour, and, thinking to impress the Todas, added 'The Prince is exceedingly wealthy, and is bringing out a retinue of two hundred people.' 'Yes, yes,' said an old man, wagging his head sagely, 'but how many buffaloes is he bringing?"

The Todas lead for the most part a simple pastoral 648
life. But I have met with more than one man who had 464
served, or who was still serving Government in the [181]
modest capacity of a forest guard, and I have heard of [233]

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* Ney = ghi or clarified butter.

These scars are produced by burning the skin
304 with red-hot sticks of *Litsæa Wightiana* (the sacred fire-
[824] stick). The Todas believe that the branding enables
[234] them to milk the buffaloes with perfect ease, or as
[755] Dr. Rivers puts it. that it cures the pain caused by
the fatigue of milking. "The marks," he says, "are
made when a boy is about twelve years old, at which age
he begins to milk the buffaloes." About the fifth month
of a woman's first pregnancy, on the new-moon day, she
[843] goes through a ceremony, in which she brands herself,
or is branded by another woman, by means of a rag
rolled up, dipped in oil and lighted, with a dot on the
carpo-metacarpal joint of each thumb and on each wrist.

142 The women are lighter in colour than the men, and
the colour of the body has been aptly described as of a
café-au-lait tint. The skin of the female children and
young adults is often of a warm copper hue. Some of
[302] the young women, with their raven-black hair dressed in
glossy ringlets, and bright glistening eyes, are distinctly
good-looking, but both good looks and complexion are
[145] short-lived, and the women speedily degenerate into
uncomely hags. As in Maori land, so in Toda land,
[562] one finds a race of superb men coupled to hideous
women, and, with the exception of the young girls, the
fair sex is the male sex. Both men and women cover
291 their bodies with a white mantle with blue and red lines,
[439] called putkūli, which is purchased in the Ootacamund
[531] bazar, and is sometimes decorated with embroidery
worked by the Toda women. The odour of the person
147 of the Todas, caused by the rancid butter which they
[294] apply to the mantle as a preservative reagent, or with
[237] which they anoint their bodies, is quite characteristic.
[302] With a view to testing his sense of smell, long after
our return from Paikara, I blindfolded a friend who had
accompanied me thither, and presented before his nose

Rubus ellipticus. } Wild raspberry. 262
Rubus molucanus. } Wild raspberry.
Rubus lasiocarpus. } Wild raspberry.
Fragaria nilgerrensis, wild strawberry.
Elæagnus latifolia. Said by Dr. Mason to make excellent tarts and jellies.
Gaultheria fragrantissima.
Rhodomyrtus tomentosa, hill gooseberry.
Loranthus neelgherrensis. } Parasitic on trees.
Loranthus loniceroides. } Parasitic on trees.
Elæocarpus oblongus.
Elæocarpus Munronii.
Berberis aristata. } Barberry.
Berberis nepalensis. } Barberry.
Solanum nigrum.
Vaccinium Leschenaultii.
Vaccinium nilgherrense.
Toddalia aculeata.
Ceropegia pusilla.

To which may be added mushrooms.

A list containing the botanical and Toda names of trees, shrubs, etc., used by the Todas in their ordinary life, or in their ceremonial, is given by Dr. Rivers.*

Fire is, in these advanced days, obtained by the Todas in their dwelling huts for domestic purposes from matches. The men who came to be operated on with my measuring instruments had no hesitation in asking for a match, and lighting the cheroots which were distributed amongst them, before they left the Paikâra bungalow dining-room. Within the precincts of the dairy temple the use of matches is forbidden, and fire is kindled with the aid of two dry sticks of *Litsæa*

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[178]
[276]
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[*] *Op. cit.*, Appendix IV, 738.

234 372 *Wightiana*. Of these one, terminating in a blunt convex extremity, is about 2′ 3″ long; the other, with a hemispherical cavity scooped out close to one end; about 2½″ in length. A little nick or slot is cut on the edge of the shorter stick, and connected with the hole in which the spindle stick is made to revolve. "In this slot the dust collects, and, remaining in an undisturbed heap, seemingly acts as a muffle to retain the friction-heat until it reaches a sufficiently high temperature, when the wood-powder becomes incandescent."* Into the cavity in the short stick the end of the longer stick fits, so as to allow of easy play. The smaller stick is placed on the ground, and held tight by firm pressure of the great toe, applied to the end furthest from the cavity, into which a little finely powdered charcoal is inserted. The larger stick is then twisted vigorously, "like a chocolate muller" (Tylor) between the palms of the hands by two men, turn and turn about, until the charcoal begins to glow. Fire, thus made, is said to be used at the sacred dairy (ti), the dairy houses of ordinary [766] mands, and at the cremation of males. In an account of a Toda green funeral,† Mr. Walhouse notes that "when the pile was completed, fire was obtained by rubbing two dry sticks together. This was done mysteriously and apart, for such a mode of obtaining fire is looked upon as something secret and sacred." At the funeral of a female, I provided a box of tändstickors for lighting the pyre. A fire-stick, which was in current use in a dairy, was polluted and rendered useless by the touch of my Brâhman assistant! It is recorded by Harkness ‡ that a Brâhman was not only refused

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* R. Bache. Royal Magazine, August 1901. † Ind. Ant., III, 1874.

‡ Description of a singular Aboriginal Race inhabiting the summit of the Neilgherry Hills, 1832.

admission to a Toda dairy, but actually driven away by 234
some boys, who rushed out of it when they heard him 372
approach. It is noted by Dr. Rivers that "several kinds
of wood are used for the fire-sticks, the Toda names of
these being kiaz or keadj (*Litsæa Wightiana*), mōrs
(*Michelia Nilagirica*), parskuti (*Elæagnus latifolia*), and [824]
main (*Cinnamomum Wightii*)." He states further that,
"whenever fire is made for a sacred purpose, the fire-sticks
must be of the wood which the Todas call kiaz or
keadj, except in the tesherot ceremony (qualifying ceremony
for the office of palol) in which the wood of muli
is used. At the niroditi ceremony (ordination ceremony
of a dairyman), "the assistant makes fire by friction, and
lights a fire of mulli wood, at which the candidate warms
himself." It is also recorded by Dr. Rivers that "in
some Toda villages, a stone is kept, called tutmûkal,
which was used at one time for making fire by striking
it with a piece of iron."

The abode of the Todas is called a mad or mand 361
(village or hamlet), which is composed of huts, dairy
temple, and cattle-pen, and has been so well described
by Dr. Shortt,* that I cannot do better than quote his
account. "Each mand," he says, "usually comprises
about five buildings or huts, three of which are used as
dwellings, one as a dairy, and the other for sheltering
the calves at night. These huts form a peculiar kind 342
of oval pent-shaped [half-barrel-shaped] construction,
usually 10 feet high, 18 feet long, and 9 feet broad. The
entrance or doorway measures 32 inches in height
and 18 inches in width, and is not provided with any
door or gate; but the entrance is closed by means of a
solid slab or plank of wood from 4 to 6 inches thick,

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* *Op. cit.*

Each hut or dwelling is surrounded
by an enclosure or wall formed of loose stones piled up 351
two or three feet high [with openings too narrow to
permit of a buffalo entering through it]. The dairy 343
is sometimes a building slightly larger than the others,
and usually contains two compartments separated by a
centre planking. One part of the dairy is a store-house
for ghee, milk and curds, contained in separate vessels.
The outer apartment forms the dwelling place of the [342]
dairy priest. The doorways of the dairy are smaller [193]
than those of the dwelling huts. The flooring of
the dairy is level, and at one end there is a fire- [354]
place. Two or three milk pails or pots are all that
it usually contains. The dairy is usually situated at
some little distance from the habitations. The huts
where the calves are kept are simple buildings, some-
what like the dwelling huts. In the vicinity of the 417
mands are the cattle-pens or tuels[tu], which are circular 233
enclosures surrounded by a loose stone wall, with a
single entrance guarded by powerful stakes. In these,
the herds of buffaloes are kept at night. Each mand [422]
possesses a herd of these animals." It is noted by 487
Dr. Rivers that "in the immediate neighbourhood of a
village there are usually well-worn paths, by which the
village is approached, and some of these paths or kalvol
receive special names. Some may not be traversed by [562]
women. Within the village there are also certain recog-
nised paths, of which two are specially important. One, [234]
the punetkalvol, is the path by which the dairy man
goes from his dairy to milk or tend the buffaloes; the
other is the majvatitthkalvol, the path which the women
must use when going to the dairy to receive butter-milk
(maj) from the dairy man. Women are not allowed to [562]
go to the dairy or to other places connected with it, except
at appointed times, when they receive buttermilk."

346 In addition to the dairies which in form resemble the 234 dwelling-huts, the Todas keep up as dairy-temples certain curious conical edifices, of which there are said to be four on the Nīlgiri plateau, viz., at the Muttanād mand, near Kotagiri, near Sholūr, and at Mudimand. The last was out of repair a few years ago, but was, I was informed, going to be rebuilt shortly. It is suggested by Dr. Rivers as probable that in many cases a dairy, originally [178] of the conical form, has been rebuilt in the same form as the dwelling-hut, owing to the difficulty and extra labour of reconstruction in the older shape. The edifice at the Muttanād mand (or Nōdrs), at the top of the Sīgūr ghāt, is known to members of the Ootacamund Hunt as the Toda cathedral. It has a circular stone base and a tall conical thatched roof crowned with a large flat stone, and is [784] surrounded by a circular stone wall. To penetrate within the sacred edifice was forbidden, but we were informed that it contained milking vessels, dairy apparatus, and a swāmi in the guise of a copper bell (mani). The dairyman is known as the varzhal or wursol. In 778 front of the cattle-pen of the neighbouring mand, I noticed a grass-covered mound, which, I was told, is sacred. The mound contains nothing buried within it, but [764] the bodies of the dead are placed near it, and earth from the mound is placed on the corpse before it is removed to the burning-ground. At "dry funerals" the buffalo is said to be slain near the mound. It has been suggested 346 by Colonel Marshall * that the "boa or boath [poh.] is not 174 a true Toda building, but may be the bethel of some tribe contemporaneous with, and cognate to the Todas, which, taking refuge, like them, on these hills, died out in their presence."

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[113] * A Phrenologist among the Todas, 1873.

172 parts." Among the most interesting figures are those of heavily bearded men riding on horses, and big-horned buffaloes which might have been modelled from the Toda buffaloes of to-day, and, like these, at funerals and migration ceremonies, bear a bell round the neck.

234 193 Two forms of Toda dairy have so far been noticed. But there remains a third kind, called the ti mand, concerning which Dr. Rivers writes as follows. "The ti is the name of an institution, which comprises a herd of buffaloes, with a number of dairies and grazing districts, tended by a dairy-man priest called palol, with an assistant called kaltmokh. Each dairy, with its accompanying buildings and pasturage, is called a ti mad, or ti village. The buffaloes belonging to a ti are of two kinds, distinguished as persinir and punir. The former are the sacred buffaloes, and the elaborate ceremonial of the ti dairy is concerned with their milk. The punir correspond in some respects to the putiir of the ordinary village dairy, and their milk and its products are largely for the personal use and profit of the palol, and are not treated with any special ceremony. During the whole time he holds office, the palol may not visit his home or any other ordinary village, though he may visit another ti village. Any business with the outside world is done either through the kaltmokh, or with people who come to visit him at the ti. If the palol has to cross a river, he may not pass by a bridge, but must use a ford, and it appears that he may only use certain fords. The palol must be celibate, and, if married, he must leave [595] his wife, who is in most cases also the wife of his brother or brothers." I visited the ti mand near Paikāra by appointment, and, on arrival near the mand, found the two palols, well-built men aged about thirty and fifty, clad in black cloths, and two kaltmokhs, youths aged

about eight and ten, naked save for a loin-cloth, seated on the ground, awaiting our arrival. As a mark of respect to the palols, the three Todas who accompanied me arranged their putkūlis so that the right arm was laid bare, and one of them, who was wearing a turban, removed it. A long palaver ensued in consequence of the palols demanding ten rupees to cover the expenses of the purificatory ceremonies, which, they maintained, would be necessary if I desecrated the mand by photographing it. Eventually, however, under promise of a far smaller sum, the dwelling-hut was photographed, with palols, kaltmokhs, and a domestic cat seated in front of it.

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In connection with the palol being forbidden to cross a river by a bridge, it may be noted that the river which flows past the Paikāra bungalow is regarded as sacred by the Todas, and, for fear of mishap from arousing the wrath of the river god, a pregnant Toda woman will not venture to cross it. The Todas will not use the river water for any purpose, and they do not touch it unless they have to ford it. They then walk through it, and, on reaching the opposite bank, bow their heads. Even when they walk over the Paikāra bridge, they take their hand out of the putkūli as a mark of respect. Concerning the origin of the Paikāra river, a grotesque legend was narrated to us. Many years ago, the story goes, two Todas, uncle and nephew, went out to gather honey. After walking for a few miles they separated, and proceeded in different directions. The uncle was unsuccessful in the search, but the more fortunate nephew secured two kandis (bamboo measures) of honey. This, with a view to keeping it all for himself, he secreted in a crevice among the rocks, with the exception of a very small quantity, which he made his uncle believe was the entire product of his search. On the

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[843]
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551 [614] patrilineal sib. Only one name is borne by each individual. Rivers[2] mentions the fact that, if two individuals bear the same name, one of them will change his name. Such identity of name is avoided merely to escape confusion and misunderstanding. Identical names can seldom occur among men for reasons that will be clear later in this paper. They are more likely to occur among women. One recent case is that of two women who were named sondɑriːdz. One of these is the daughter of iːmɯxfɯn (19, Imokhvan)[3] and she retains the name in this form. The other is the daughter of midzxθɯːṛ (63, Midjkudr); she is usually called sondɯr to distinguish her from the other, though her full name may still be used when there is no possibility of confusion.

778 771 234 §3. To make clear the background of the naming system it is necessary to clarify the religious system of the Todas. Each sib possesses a number of munds,[4] which are essentially holy places or gods with dwelling houses attached. The holy place or god is the localized dairy-complex, all the elements of which are holy. The elements are the sacred buffaloes (as opposed to the non-sacred buffaloes), the dairies, and the milk of the buffaloes. No further localization of the divinity appears to be made within the complex. All the contents of the dairies, bells, tools, coagulant (called pep), partake to some degree of the holiness of the complex, and, like the buffaloes and the milk, must not be profaned by contact with profane persons; but it cannot be discovered that any object or place is especially the seat of the divinity. Linguistic evidence has made it clear that this is correct. In both songs and [192] speech the mund (excluding the dwelling houses) is referred to as töθ "god" or noːṛ "sacred place" or by the compound töθnoːṛ, and my informants can make no distinction between these terms, or between mod "mund" and 776 778 [779] noːṛ when these two form a pair in the songs.[5] These divinities are to some extent anthropomorphic, since it is said that all the gods, including the gods of the Hindu pantheon worshipped in the plains, the Toda gods who are mountains and rivers of the Nilgiris, as well as the god öːn who lives in the world of the dead, and the gods who are the munds, i.e. the töθnoːṛ, hold assemblies to settle their disputes in the dairy of the mund myːnj.

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[113] [2] W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, 1906), p. 625. He has a chapter on "Personal Names," pp. 619–27.

[3] The number of the genealogical table in Rivers and the spelling of the name in the table will be given for each individual mentioned.

[192] [4] Toda terminology applies the word mod to (1) the sib as a whole, (2) each separate dairy institution plus a dwelling place which belongs to the sib, and in several other ways which are not in point here.

[113] [5] For the technique of the songs, see my paper, *The Songs of the Todas* (Proceedings, American Philosophical Society, Vol. 77, pp. 543–60, 1937).

§14. The suffix -om is fairly common. The meaning of this suffix is "he who is, or has" (cf. the song passage quoted in appendix to note 7 above); this is clear in the name naroım (a son of tæıpox [20, Teipakh]) "he who has beauty, or is beautiful." From such transparent cases the suffix has spread to other less transparent cases, as e.g. kūaṛoım of the pɯrgoıṛoɬ (34, Kwodron), who is named after the mund kūaırθyṇj with shortening of the first vowel (cf. panuır in §6). The suffix -aır is fairly common. I know of one name with this suffix based on the name of a rock at a watering-place (which should end in ar "flat rock"), but my informants were unable to remember the name of the ṛock; the man's name is sinaır (55, Sinar). Other examples connected with sibs do not occur in my material. sirjaır (20, Siriar) <sirirangam, the Tamil name ordinarily spelt in English Srirangam. The parents of this man made a vow for children at the temple there. piɬjaır (52, Piliar) seems to be derived from the common noun piɬj "silver" by this suffix. However, the name has a peculiar origin in that it was given by this man's recently dead grandfather in a dream experienced by his father. A sib origin could not be given for it, or at least was not sought for; it is, however, based on the familiar type and probably has reference to some sib-object, perhaps the kɯrfoɬj dairy at the mund kɯıθɯṛ, which has as kūasm piɬjog, which was used unchanged for this man's younger brother (Piliag). 551 193 [614]

§15. Rivers took -oɬf (his -olv) to be an ending of personal names as such, as well as an ending of dairy-names. The Todas, however, do not seem to regard it in this manner. In all the examples, with two exceptions, a personal name with this ending is first a dairy-name. So toısjoɬf in §5, and δıkjoɬf in §6; the latter is one kūasm of an abandoned mund, but in all the cases where a mund has a name of this type as one kūasm, this represents a dairy at the mund. The two exceptions are kūɯısjoɬf (52, Kuriolv) and pasukiusjoɬf (7, Pakursiolv). The former is made from kūɯısɯṛn, the ground where the sacred buffalo is killed at piıts, the male funeral-place of the sib, but with its ending derived by the informants from pɯnaːsoɬf, the second kūasm of the funeral-place, referring to the funeral-hut, which represents a dairy. pasukiusjoɬf<pasukiusjniır, the watering place of the kuṛpoɬj dairy at the mund kaıs, with the ending from toısjoɬf, the name of the kuṛpoɬj dairy. I know of only one dairy-name in poıθ used as a personal name, viz. tyɬjpoıθ (12, Tilipa), which is derived from poıθθyɬjpoıθ, the kūasm of the θɯsoɬj dairy at the mund nœrsmiːnoıṛ. Usually some change is made, as in tɯspɯrxūɯṭṇ and tɯrfɯɯr in §6 (cf. §9 and §11) and piθɬjxūɯır in §21. 551 193 234 ●

§16. A few of the names which were explained to me have very irregular formations. pɯnɯr (23, Puner)<panarθoθ, the second kūasm of Mt. 551 193 [553]

887 764 old ones this opportunity and sometimes catch the old men's
554 526 assigned animals before the latter can reach them. Old men
[578] retaliate sometimes by stepping in when the young men are
unable to control a buffalo that has been caught. In the latter
case the old man is inclined to boast inordinately of his prowess.
[533] Great speed in running and skill in catching buffaloes is
celebrated in the songs. Adventitious rewards are occasionally
764 given to the winner in the race for the buffaloes. E. g. about
554 twenty years ago at the funeral of kanmę (Rivers' genealogical
526 table 63), kuwę·jaḷf, the headman of the tribe, offered a fine cloak
to the winner in the race. It was won by ke:nodz (21), who still
dwells on this proof of his former prowess. If this interest needs
any buttressing, it has recently been provided by the Ootacmund
648 Hunt, which initiated in 1936 at the point-to-point race meet a
526 cross-country running race for Todas. In that year and in 1937
the race was of about a mile and a quarter over rolling downs.
It was won both years in remarkably fast time by a young man,
[789] who was said at the time to have gone to the Kurumbas beforehand
for charms to help him to win. This innovation, which
will no doubt last as long as the Ootacamund Hunt, merely adds
another small item to a highly-developed interest and fits well
into the Toda pattern.

291 Toda men's costume has been affected to a slight extent by the
177 influence of the immigrant plainspeople. I have already
described the proper Toda clothes in my paper *Toda Garments and
Embroidery*. In addition to these most men nowadays wear a
shirt under the cloak in the manner made familiar to them by the
Indians in the bazaar. A turban of bright-colored cloth or silk
[292] is also affected, by headmen usually and by all others who can
afford it for festal occasions. That this is a borrowing is easily
seen from the clumsy efforts that the men make in tying the
turban and from the lack of any uniform style in the result.
Some young men also wear a bright-colored neckerchief knotted
in front as a fairly regular part of their costume; this is a very
[178] recent innovation and seems to be an independent invention.
[784] None of these new garments may be worn when the men go
inside the walls surrounding the dairies. The waistcloth, though
[234] it seems to be an innovation of about a century ago, is worn near

the dairy; this contrasts with the rule of the Kotas that the 291
waistcloth must be discarded on going within the Kota 177
temple areas.

Other sociological phenomena need not be touched upon in 114
detail; accounts that I have been given of various of them agree entirely with River's accounts.

Since Rivers' time one sib of the to:rθaṣ moiety has come near 114
extinction, viz. the niṛjo:ḻ found in Rivers' genealogical tables 614
40–43. The family in table 41 has been extinguished entirely by the death of its last male members. The only male member still surviving of the family in table 42 is a Christian, and this family is regarded as extinguished. In 40 and 43 each family is represented now by a male infant and a Christian male. It is unlikely that the three Christians originally of this sib will return to the tribe since they were very young when they became members of the Christian community. The sib must be carried on by the two infants and if they should survive and have sons, the organization of the sib into the divisions called kuṃṛ (pp. 542–4) will remain as it is now; otherwise, a new division will be necessary, as will in any case a new po:lm division (pp. 544–6), or the sib may be wholly extinguished.

In the matter of religious institutions, I can again find no 771
change, though my more intimate, linguistic approach enables 114
me to place the emphasis in some cases at different points from those which Rivers stressed and to present an amplified and better balanced picture of the religious system as a whole than that of Rivers. I shall not here go into much detail, merely presenting a sketchy outline of the religious picture as my material yields it and touching on some points where Rivers thought that he could observe tendencies to change.

The religion of the Todas is a highly ritualized buffalo-cult. 771
Every important operation connected with the buffaloes is 233
conducted according to rule, the milking and converting the 234
milk successively into butter and ghee, giving salt to the 194
buffaloes, taking them on migration to fresh pastures, burning over the pastures, giving a buffalo a name when it has calved for

771 the first time,[1] introducing new utensils into the dairy and
233 preparing new coagulant for the milk, rebuilding and rethatching
234 the dairy, consecrating dairymen, and even drinking buttermilk
794 from the dairy. All the rules apply to the sacred buffaloes;
ordinary ones are treated with much less ceremony. Infractions
[783] of the rules involve pollution, and most of the precautions
surrounding the cult seem designed to prevent pollution of the
[778] milk by contact with profane persons or utensils. The milk, as
the primary product, is most liable to pollution and the successive
operations finally result in ghee, which possesses so little sanctity
794 that it can be sold to outsiders.

776 Rivers (pp. 447–9) dealt with the various elements of the
114 dairy-cult which might conceivably be regarded as divinities,
[234] the dairy, the bell, the buffaloes, and the poḷo:ḷ, the priest of the
most sacred grade of dairy, the ti:. He rightly rejected all these
as being divinities for the Todas. Finally, in a paragraph on p.
449, he attempted to grapple with the problem of the Toda divinities. He said: "Each clan is believed to have its nódrodchi,
or ruling deity, but I could not learn what he is supposed to do.
In general the nódrodchi of a clan is a god dwelling on a hill
near the chief village of the clan, and two clans living near one
another may have the same ruler......... Little can be said about
the nature of these connexions between gods and clans, but it is
possible that when a clan or a member of a clan is said to incur
the anger of the gods it is the nódrodchi who is chiefly offended
and inflicts punishment in the form of death or disease to man
or buffalo." This neglects one very important set of divinities.
Rivers failed to discriminate between two different classes of
divinities, the tõuθmṭ and the tõuno:ṛ. The Todas are not very
articulate on the distinction when pressed for information in
general terms, but the distinction is implicit in all that is said
[533] on the subject and becomes very explicit in the language of the
songs.

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[1] This ceremony, the wṛfo:lfmet, is performed for a sacred buffalo only
and only at its first calving; Rivers (p. 172) is to be corrected on this point.
[114] The essential part of the ceremony is the name-giving. When the calf is
released from the calf-shed and allowed to go to its mother to be suckled, the
[552] dairyman says the name, e. g. ka:θum, and then strikes the buffalo three
[788] times with the wand, saying hō: at each stroke (p. 173 top). Before this
ceremony the buffalo is classed as no·ṛ, after is as wṛ.

Most of the deities who are named and of whom stories are 776
told are the töuθɯṭ and it is about these that Rivers acquired 114
much information. They are "the mountains (tɯṭ) which are 794
gods (töu)," and with them we may include the river deities.
They are very real to the Todas; for details I refer to Rivers,
since little that is new on these gods has come to me. But they
are not the gods of the sibs. They have connexions with the
villages of the sibs (the villages are called mo*d*, Englished as
"mund"), e. g. tö:kiṣj created most of the Toda institutions at
the mund no:ṭ and this connexion is kept very much in mind. [777]
They may also be offended against, and diviners may and do
sometimes say that such and such misfortunes have come to a [791]
man because he has so offended, especially against the river gods [688]
by breaking the regulations concerning the crossing of rivers.
But these töuθɯṭ are not the most important gods to the Todas. 794

The töuno:ṭ are by all odds the most present divinities in Toda 776
consciousness. These are the gods of the munds, or rather of the 234
dairy-complexes localized at munds. Most munds consist of one [361]
or more dairies, buffalo-pens, and other appurtenances of the
dairy-cult, together with several houses in which the people live.
The dairy section of the mund is the töuno:ṭ and it is clear from
the song-phraseology and the prayers that it is not only the
dairies that are denoted by this term, but the whole dairy-complex
associated with the dairies. The prayers are made up of names [782]
of everything connected with the complex, dairies, sacred buffaloes, pens, calf-sheds, bells, utensils and tools used in the dairies,
and coagulant. The dairyman in that he is the servant of the
complex is to this extent connected with it. The complex may [783]
suffer pollution in any of its parts, and for this reason women,
who are the chief source of pollution, are rigorously separated [562]
from the complex and not allowed to approach it from the house
across a line that is marked by a stone or stones. The houses in
fact are designated as a:ṭ as opposed to the dairy section
of the mund which is no:ṭ "sacred place." Within the no:ṭ it 776
cannot be discovered that any element is the local seat of the 234
divinity. The linguistic evidence shows that the no:ṭ itself 778
is the god. Both songs and ordinary speech refer to the sacred 794
part of the mund as töu "god" or no:ṭ "sacred place" or töuno:ṭ, [192]
a compound of the two words denoting "the sacred place which

776 is a god." Likewise mod "mund" and no:ṭ "sacred place"
234 may be used as equivalent terms in songs. We must conclude
778 that the "sacred place" and the "god" are the same thing, the
[192] localized dairy-complex. Examples of song-phraseology are as
follows:[1]

776 no:ṭo:selm	ku:tjɯθno:ṭ
778 sacred places-all	to which she gathered-sacred place
234 töuo:selm	"
539 gods-all	"

794 i. e. "(no:ṣ), the sacred place to which the goddess tö:kiṣj gathered all the sacred places, all the gods."

moxeθaṛm	kuɯṛtɯθno:ṭ
children-charity	which gave-sacred place
ɯṛeθaṛm	"
buffaloes-charity	"

i. e. "the place (or, god) which gave children and buffaloes in abundance."

no:ṭexu:ḍtk	pi:ɯθno:ṭ
sacred places-meeting-to	which went-sacred place
töueno:jtk	"
gods-meeting-to	"

i. e. "the sacred place (or, god) which went to the assembly
794 of the sacred places, of the gods." The assembly to which the
776 gods go is held in the dairy of the mund my:nj to settle disputes
778 and matters of interest to the gods. Here all the gods, the
234 töuθɯṭ, the töuno:ṭ, and the gods of the Hindu pantheon,
[177] assemble and they are said to be 1600 or 1800 in number.[2] From
this the töuno:ṭ are clearly seen to be anthropomorphic, as is
[777] also evident since it is said that a töuno:ṭ may become angry and
[783] visit misfortune on anyone guilty of polluting that particular
dairy-complex.

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[1] See *The Songs of the Todas*, reference given in note 1.

[2] The two numbers make the song-pair; pa:ṛnu:rθöu, pu:ṭṇu:rθöu "1600
[533] gods, 1800 gods." That the conception is of fairly ancient standing with the
Todas seems clear from the Toda interpretation of the first "holy name
[174] (kwaṣm)" of the mund my:nj, which is pa:ṛnɯs, said to mean "the standing-place (nɯs) of the 1600 gods (represented by pa:r for pa:ṛnu:r)." For further discussion of this sacred name, see *Personal names of the Todas* §11.

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The dwelling houses form no part of the complex, and so there are töuno·ṛ without houses, as is preeminently the case with the highest grade of dairies, the ti·. There may also be munds without dairies, and these are not töuno·ṛ. Some munds also which have dairies are not töuno·ṛ. They were founded in comparatively recent times because the herds tended at a töuno·ṛ became too large and new dairy accommodation had to be built. Their comparative lack of sanctity is indicated by the fragmentary nature of the prayers used at them and by the fact that a dairyman-priest may not be ordained for them but must be ordained for one of the töuno·ṛ of the sib and after serving there for a short time must go on to the less sacred place. This type of mund as well as those without dairies are known as maxmoḍ, as opposed to the töuno·ṛ, which are ɯtuɯḍmoḍ "important or chief mund." In each case a töuno·ṛ is said to have been founded in the beginning by the töuθɯṭ associated with the sib, a maxmoḍ to have been a human creation. 776 778 [342] [178] [793]

When a töuno·ṛ is entirely abandoned and its dairy no longer used, the Todas may revive it after a period of as long as fifty years or even longer. This usually happens because the diviners so order it when misfortune has overtaken the sib or because a buffalo wanders to the abandoned site and the diviners interpret its actions as directed by the töuno·ṛ who wishes the people to cease their neglect. The Todas in their religious thinking have not found it necessary to speculate about the fate of a töuno·ṛ when a mund is never revived. Nor are they troubled by the question of the relationship between the sacred buffaloes of a sib and the various dairy-complexes at which they are tended. Each sib operates a number of complexes and the same buffaloes may be kept at any of them in turn. [791] [614]

When Rivers said that each sib has a "ruling deity," he referred to the töuθɯṭ. The Toda phrase which he gave, nódrodchi, i. e. no·ṛo·ḍoi-, means "(the deity, i. e. the töuθɯṭ) ruled, or owned, the sacred place," or as one informant translated "used the mund." For each "chief mund" (ɯtuɯḍmoḍ or töuno·ṛ) was created, as we have said, by a töuθɯṭ who founded the dairy operations there and carried them on in the beginning. [614]

771 Rivers says (p. 452): "The present state of the Toda religion 776 seems to be one in which ritual has persisted while the beliefs at 794 the bottom of the ritual have largely disappeared." By "beliefs" he referred to the stories of those gods, such as tö:kiȿj and the 234 rest, whom we have shown above to be the töuθwṭ. Since they are distinct from the töuno:ṛ, it is clear that the ritual of the dairy-complex has no connexion with the beliefs about the töuθwṭ. It is true that the dairy-complexes are of much greater interest to the Toda than the other gods, but these latter have quite as much power to cause misfortune as the former, opportunities only arising less frequently. We may pro- 771 bably see in the highly developed ritual of the dairies a product 174 of long accretion, starting originally no doubt from the fairly 794 general Indian belief in the sanctity of cattle. The steps by 234 which this grew into the present cult cannot be discovered. But if this is the origin of the Toda ritualized dairy-practice, we need not expect anything more in the way of beliefs than we actually find, viz. anecdotes to explain anomalies of various dairy-complexes. Long origin stories are lacking, everything being referred either to these anecdotes for a few abnormal details or to creation in general terms by tö:kiȿj and the other töuθwṭ for the general scheme of things. It is possible that tö:kiȿj and the gods [776] associated with her represent an older layer of belief than the dairy-complex gods, but no evidence is forthcoming other than the chronology given in the Toda myths. About the former gods, 776 the töuθwṭ, stories are still told in the vague way of which 538 Rivers complained (p. 452 middle). But this vagueness is really merely a sketchiness of detail that I have found in all Toda story-telling, arising from a lack of interest in the story-telling technique, not from a lack of interest in the stories (see my paper *An Echo-word Motif in Dravidian Folk-tales*). There is no reason to suppose that the stories of the old gods will ever be forgotten while the tribe survives.

771 Into the close-knit nexus of the Toda dairy-complex no 234 change is likely to come except in matters of detail, and no such 794 change since Rivers' time is known to me. Short of complete 177 abandonment of the system it is hard to conceive of any radical 178 alteration. But, as was already noted by Rivers (pp. 457-8

worship of Hindu deities can go on "side by side with the proper religion of the Todas."

TODA MENSTRUATION PRACTICES*

By

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841 The Todas of the Nilgiris in South India in the regulations governing
121 women during menstruation are as peculiar as in many other of their institutions.
In the account of their regulations which is presented in this paper
this will be shown by reference to the regulations of the communities surrounding
them.

841 During this period Toda women are not secluded, as they are by the
171 Kotas and Badagas of the Nilgiris and by most other communities of India.
They remain in the one-room houses of the tribe and no restrictions are
placed on their contacts with ordinary men. Sexual intercourse is forbidden,
but other physical contacts are allowed. E.g. they may sit on the same seat
as a man and may assist a man or be assisted by him in dressing the hair,
bathing etc. Contact is always avoided even in the woman's normal state
[602] with a man of the same patrilineal sib or with a man of the same matri-
[614] lineal line,[1] but during menstruation no further restrictions are imposed.
They cook as usual; this again is in marked contrast with the practice of other
communities of India. The taboo on sexual intercourse during a woman's
[684] menstrual period is apparently broken at times; no penalty is applied either
to the man or to the woman if such breach is discovered. A man however
[793] who has had such intercourse may not become a dairyman-priest until after
the next new moon.
[234]

841 The period involves however an even stricter seclusion from contact with
778 the dairy-complex than is usually enjoined on the Toda women. The restriction
234 on a man's becoming a priest after intercourse with a menstruating
woman has just been mentioned. Normally women may drink buttermilk
[462] from the dairies, and it is the women's task to take receptacles to the line of
stones marking off the houses, or profane part of the munds,[2] from the dairy
and its grounds, in order that the priest may fill them with buttermilk. Both
these practices are forbidden for menstruating women. Even during their

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[122] * This paper was written during receipt of aid from the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund), to which I must acknowledge my gratitude.

[113] [1] See my paper "Toda marriage regulations and taboos" in *American Anthropologist* 39. 103-12.

[2] A mund is any place where the Todas live or carry on tribal activities which
are localised, e.g., funerals or dairy operations. In my paper "Toda culture thirty-
[361] five years after" in *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* Vol. XIX,
pp. 101-121, I have outlined the nature of the munds and have shown that those at
[778] which the people live are typically made up of two parts, a dairy-complex which is
[776] a god, and a profane part where the houses are.

[p. 82]

normal period they must be careful not to touch the priest while he is exercising 841
his priestly duties; e.g. when a woman takes the vessel to the line of 778
stones, she sets it down on the ground and retreats a few paces and the priest 234●
avoids contact even with the profane vessel. Priests, however, are permitted
to sleep in the profane part of the mund, the houses, on certain nights of the [793]
week, depending on the grade of dairy at which they officiate, and on these
nights they may have intercourse with the women in the houses and no restriction
is put upon their contact with the women.[1] A menstruating woman,
however, must not stay in the house when a priest comes to sleep there. She
is further debarred from touching any buffaloes, calves, or buffalo-pens, even
those which she may touch at ordinary times, as e.g. non-sacred buffaloes which
are being milked for the use of the houses. The restrictions which ward off
women from the dairy-complex are at ordinary times stringent enough; these
extra ones are designed to remove the last traces of contact during a woman's
menstruation period.

The funeral huts used for men at all male funeral places are called by the 764
word which denotes a dairy (poɬy). Some of the sibs in fact place the corpse 841
of a man in a dairy which is used as such and in one or two other cases there 778
are traditions that the funeral huts were originally dairies of certain grades.[2] A [614]
menstruating woman may not enter any funeral hut of a male to lament over
the body. This is a slight further indication that all the funeral huts of males
are regarded as dairies, as they are terminologically. The ne:lpoɬy, or hut
which is built for the accommodation of the relics of a man between the first
and second funerals, also has as part of its name the word for dairy. It is not
however regarded as a dairy, nor is there any indication that it was a dairy
at any stage of its development. But no menstruating woman may enter
it. It is probable that this restriction has been made following upon the
restriction on a menstruating woman's entering the funeral hut proper.

One mund, kuɯ:sy of the sib called mö:ɽ was according to tradition 778
formerly a dairy-mund of the highest grade, a ti :-mund. A certain amount 183
of its original sanctity still attaches to it, and in theory women do not live 562
there any more than they do at ti :-munds. The inconvenience of this regulation
is however overcome in practice by a fiction. Women live at the
mund kuɯ:sy but the marks of women's occupation are not allowed in the
mund, i.e., the grain-pounder, the winnowing-basket, and the broom must be
kept outside the mund and never brought to the houses. All household duties
involving these articles must be performed outside of the munds. Likewise, [841]
no menstruating woman may stay in the mund; she must go outside
and stay away for three days. At ordinary times she may be in the mund
by a fiction, but when she is really and unequivocally a woman, the fiction
will not avail to preserve the sanction of this mund.

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[1] See Rivers, *The Todas*, pp. 62 (towards the bottom), 67 (bottom), 72 (towards the bottom), 78 (middle). [113]

[2] Rivers, pp. 339-40.

776 Then come two important demi-gods: a) *Kwotèn*, a man-god whose fabulous life is closely associated with one of the Toda clans (that of Pan); Rivers believed him to have been an outstanding Toda personality who was possibly posthumously deified. b) *Kwoto*, another man-god; he is closely associated with the clan of Melgarsh; among the legendary feats which he is reputed to have accomplished is that of tying down the sun between two mountains and of taking it to drink at a stream every day, in order to prove to the gods, who had challenged him, that he possessed supernatural powers.

197 The language spoken by the Todas is a Dravidian dialect. According
to Emeneau, it is more akin to Canarese (Kanada) than to Tamil,
although it cannot be said to be a very close relative of the former
either. All Todas are, anyhow, bilingual, and very often even trilingual,
191 conversing freely in Badaga with their neighbours and in Tamil
with visitors from the plains. As they have no script of their own,
212 when they occasionally want to write something (such as commemorative
inscriptions on temple doors) they make use of Tamil characters.
177 I have never seen them use Roman letters, but I have been told (by
Miss C. F. Ling for instance) that although not habitual, this is sometimes
also done.

● 234 The economy of the Todas is a pastoral one, large herds of great
433 horned buffaloes, which do not resemble those of the plains, being
kept for their milk and milk products. Many of these animals are
[778] quite ordinary (*putir*) but the great majority of them are pedigree cattle
of a sacred nature (*postir*), their ancestry being calculated through the
cows. They are believed to have been given to the tribe by the gods.
They are grouped in four principal categories, each graded hierarchically.
Thus the lowest category is that of the *wursulir*, then come the
[778] *nodrovair* and the *Kugvalir*, and finally, the highest and most sacred
of all, the *tiir*.

[648] Like other pastoral people, the Todas consider it degrading to take
to agriculture, and repeated attempts by the Indian Government to
[241] induce them to till the soil have miserably failed. When given a field
[427] to cultivate, they usually let it out to a Badaga for a nominal sum,
preferring to carry on with their animal husbandry and its semi-nomadic
form of life, a tradition deeply ingrained in them and to which
they are greatly attached. Most of the milk, butter and buttermilk
[439] produced by the tribe is consumed by its members, but a certain amount
is sold in the local market, and the money thus earned made use of to
433 buy other foods and everyday commodities. On the whole, the Toda
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economy is not a poor one, and the standard of living of the tribe is 511
quite definitely higher than that of the average plainsman.

The dairyman with the Todas is the priest, and his processing of 234
the milk produced by the sacred animals into butter and buttermilk is [793]
looked upon as a religious act. Ths takes place in specially constructed
buildings which are dairies and temples at the same time. They are [343]
known by the generic term of *polkhthli*, and their degree of sanctity
varies proportionally to the type of buffalo which they serve. Thus the [346]
highest dairy-temples are called *ti* (where *tiir* are cared for), the lowest [778]
tarvali (which is the *mad*'s, serving ordinary buffaloes or *putir*), and
there are such intermediate ones as *wursuli* (for the *wursulir*), *kurpali*
(for the *nodrovair*) and *kugvali* (for the *kugvalir*).

To each of these herds of buffaloes and to their corresponding 234
dairy-temple, there is a priest-dairyman, who alone is allowed to milk 793
the animals and process their milk in accordance with an ancient ritual,
which consists mainly in the recital of stereotyped formulae, called [788]
kwarshm. The *ti* and *tiir* are served by a *palol*, who is highest ranking
priest of the tribe, assisted by a *kaltmokh*; the *tarvali* or village dairy-
temple is in charge of a *tarvalikartmokh*, while the *wursuli, kurpali*
and *kugvali* have respectively a *wursol*, a *kurpalikartmokh* and a *kugvalikartmokh*.
These priests are subjected to very strict rules of behaviour
and ritual purity, and are recognizable at once by the black [292]
cloak of office which they wear, the *tuni*. The *palol* at the *ti* alone has
to milk the very holy *tiir*, completely naked, except for a diminutive
perineal band, the *kuvn* – no mean feat during the winter, in the cold
and rarefied atmosphere at nearly 8,000 feet.

The Toda tribe, very homogeneous, consisting only of men and 616
women of that name, is divided into two patrilineal, respectively en- 104
dogamous moieties, that of the Tardharsh and that of the Teivilkh. I 114
am purposely spelling these names at variance with the orthography of
W. H. R. Rivers, because it appears to me closer this way to the
manner in which the Todas pronounce them. Other words in this
chapter which do not conform to the fashion in which the author of
The Todas writes them are purposely spelt differently so as to be in
keeping with what seemed to me a more faithful phonetic rendering of
Toda speech.

The tribe considers the Tardharsh moiety as superior to the Teivilkh, 616
and gives higher social status to the members of the former; in what 554
follows, there will be numerous examples of this discrimination, which
is continually encountered by anyone having anything to do with the

616 Todas. Of the two divisions, it is the inferior one, that of the Teivilkh,
554 which is the smallest. Rivers looked upon it as made up of later arrivals in the Nilgiris who were relegated to a subordinate position by the dominant Tardharsh (see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 691).

234 Priests of the high dairy temples, who, appointed to special offices which are not given to the ordinary *mad* dwellers, and in which they
616 take it in turns to serve the village *tarvali*, are always chosen exclusively
793 from the Teivilkh moiety. As an explanation of this apparent paradox,
[554] I was told that, despite the high ritual position which, for example, a *palol* occupies, he enjoys no superior social status, and is even looked upon generally as a servant of the tribe, fulfilling a necessary but definitely unenviable, strenuous and lonely occupation.

614 Within each moiety, there are patrilineal clans (or patrilineages) called *modol* (from *mad*, "village", and *olkh*, "man') and matrilineal descent groups (or matrilineages) which are known by the name of *polkhliol* (from *polkhthli*, "dairy-temple" and *olkh*, "man"). The Todas
[611] observe dual descent, and are very strict about it, especially in what
[582] concerns the exogamous rules which apply to each of these groups. They are particularly careful not to marry into the *polkhliol*, and will go to great lengths to avoid doing so, in order to remain on the safe side of this interdiction.

The span of both paternal clans and maternal descent groups varies
[114] considerably and readers are referred to Rivers book *The Todas* for an account of the *modol* (see p. 643 and following), and to my own publication *The Mothersibs of the Todas of the Nilgiris* (see Bibliography) for the *polkhliol*.

614 There are thirteen patrilineal clans and five matrilineal descent
616 groups among the Tardharsh. Their names are as follows, classified according to the importance which the tribe gives to each of them:
554
564

modols

1. **Karsh**
2. **Norsh**
3. **Tarar**
4. **Mörorl or Pan**
5. **Kiaror**
6. **Nirkh**
7. **Konnorj**
8. **Unkiti**
9. **Kwordhoni**

polkhliols

1. **Pirsh or Nör**
2. **Kwoten-Pöldh**
3. **Öntö**
4. **Kon**
5. **Püth**

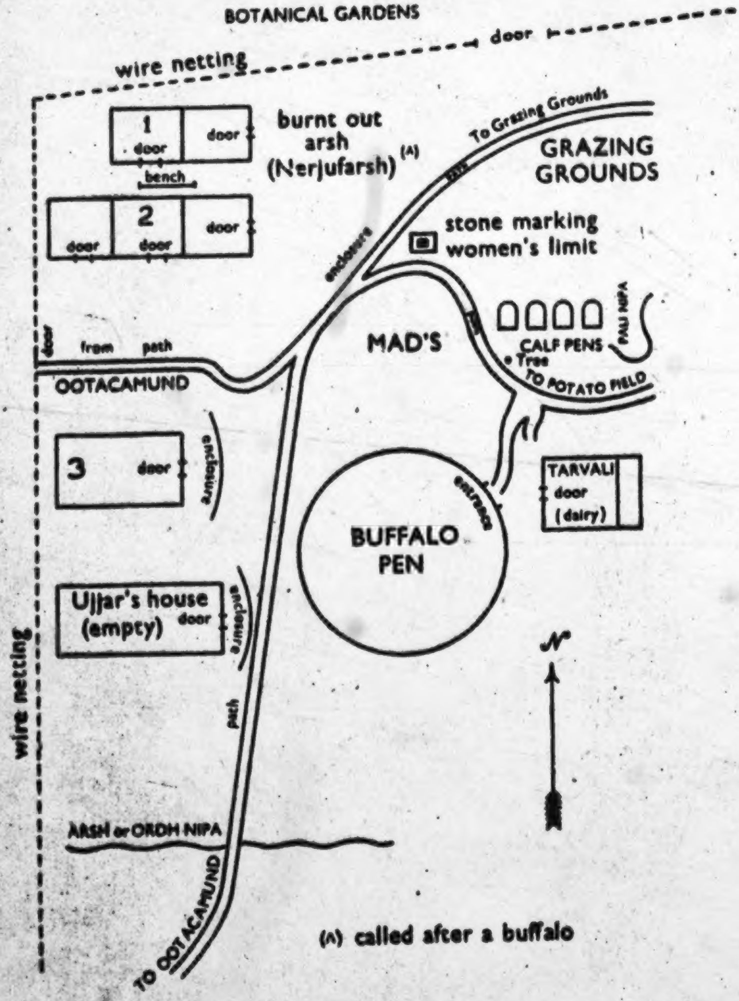
796
304

562 ears pierced ceremonially, this again being reserved exclusively for
men, for whom the utilitarian motive of the ritual seems to be completely
non-existent. Toda boys put on the *kuvn* (perineal band) when
291 they are five years old. The girls are given their wraps at the age of
858 three. Children are separated from each other in accordance with their
sex when, at eight, they start their respective social occupations.

It will be apparent from the above that members of the male sex
562 receive preferential treatment among the Todas. This is something
which strikes the observer at once, the advantageous social role of the
men being very much in contrast to the subordinate one of the women.
Nevertheless, it cannot be said that representatives of the female sex
are, on the whole, badly treated. On the contrary, they have a free and
easy look about them, and are, as a rule, well-cared for by their men
folk. It is merely evident that they suffer from some very distinct social
disabilities.

462 Thus Toda women are expected to deal with such household duties
562 as pounding the grain in the house, sifting it, sweeping out the hut,
making the *ertülkh* or sleeping platform and seat inside the *arsh* with
cow-dung and mud, mending clothes and sometimes embroidering.
They are also in charge of cooking, although Rivers thought, erroneously,
[252] that they could not deal with this domestic duty. They may also
[234] milk the ordinary buffaloes or *putir*, something which Rivers also
mistakenly denies. There are, on the other hand, a number of feminine
[114] "musts'. A Toda woman is obliged to greet all male relatives by
[576] putting her head under the man's feet in what is known as the *kalmelpudithti*
[487] salutation. When she goes back and forth from the *mad*, she
is compelled to follow a special path, the *majvatitthkalvol*, and may
not use the ordinary one taken by men and outsiders. A stone, the
majvatvaiirn, marks the point nearest to the dairy-temple at which she
[234] must stop. It is here that butter-milk (*maj*) is distributed to the
womenfolk every evening at sunset by the dairy priests. They must
[841] not handle it, furthermore, when they are menstruating.

562 Woman may only exceptionally enter temples at funerals when the
body of a man rests in the ante-chamber. They are excluded from
784 most religious ceremonies and at the yearly procession through the
village of Kiur, they must vacate the *mad* completely before its arrival.
Women are not allowed to attend the sacred buffaloes (*postir*), or even
to approach their pens. They may not drink their milk and are only
allowed the buttermilk and the butter after it has been processed by
the dairyman-priest. They cannot cross the dairy's stream (*palt nipa*),


BOTANICAL GARDENS
wire netting
door
1
door
door
bench
2
door
door
door
burnt out arsh (Nerjufarsh) (A)
To Grazing Grounds
GRAZING GROUNDS
enclosure
stone marking women's limit
door
from path
OOTACAMUND
MAD'S
CALF PENS
PALI NIPA
Tree
TO POTATO FIELD
3
door
enclosure
entrance
TARVALI
door
(dairy)
BUFFALO PEN
Ujjar's house (empty)
door
enclosure
N
wire netting
path
ARSH or ORDH NIPA
TO OOTACAMUND
(A) called after a buffalo

361
417
487
234
312
621
342

Fig. 18. Plan of the Melgarsh *mad*.

[Melgarsh Village]

the time of their wedding. In the unusual case of a man having no 425
brothers and no nephews to whom the buffaloes devolve after his death, 428
the herd will go to the *polm*. [614]

I had put up a tent in this immediate vicinity of the Melgarsh *mad*, 512
and was thus able, by staying in it up the twenty-four hours on certain [123]
occasions, to follow the everyday life of the family.

The habitual routine was really quite simple. The various members
of Melgarsh would sleep in their respective houses as described above,
and rise very early with the sun, which in southern India is already up
at 4.30 a.m. Pads and Silidz would say their morning prayers (as all
Todas do, see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 31), attend to the calls of nature [514]
in the bushes close by, and then prepare the morning food. There was
very little washing, the clothes which were taken off at night (under- [296]
clothes are worn then) being put on again. While Silidz was doing the
cooking, Pads would go out and lend a hand with the buffaloes, which [233]
were taken out of the pen at this early hour and allowed to graze on the
ground in front of the house. He was assisted in this by Munbokwutn,
Pershrörsh, Narjilkh, Singarsh and sometimes Singud and Kuddhue.
The latter, usually *tarvalikartmokh*, would then milk the buffaloes at [234]
8 a.m. before they left with the boys, Munbokwutn and Singarsh, for
higher grazing grounds, after the morning meal. Narjilkh would have [264]
let the calves out earlier and would have helped to retain them at Mel-
garsh away from their mothers. The gardeners (Pads, Mutnarsh, Pilkh- [291]
livowutn and Pufvkiaroz) once the meal was over would put on some
dreadful rags, which were considered by them to be European clothes,
and go off to their work in the Botanical Gardens. The women would [356]
stay at home and tidy up the houses, sweep them out, wash themselves [515]
(especially the younger ones), pound rice in the *kudi*, and cook the
evening meal.

The meals are selected from the following foods: milk, buttermilk, 262
butter, *ghee* (clarified *butter*), millet (an Indian cereal), rice, wheat flour
in the form of unleavened bread or *gur*, (unrefined cane sugar), coffee,
tea, chillis, bamboo shoots, fruits from the woods and honey. No meat
is eaten, as Todas, like other Indians, are vegetarians. I obtained this [115]
list from Mutnarsh, and as he was very keen to give me all the informa-
tion that he could, he even asked me, through the interpreter, if I want- 264
ed to see how he ate. He was willing, he said, to eat in front of me, 123
then and there. I had some difficulty in dissuading him, and only suc-
ceeded by accepting to have rice with him another day, which I did. In
caste-ridden India, this was rather exceptional, and I was glad to join

[Melgarsh Village]

264 Mutnarsh and his family in an excellent bowl of rice which had been
123 prepared specially for me. We all ate with our fingers, with the right
hand, as is the Indian custom.

In the afternoon, the gardeners would return from their work before
512 5 o'clock, while the women would sit about sewing and embroidering
putkulis. The children would play, and those men who stayed behind,
like Motsod for instance, would either sleep or receive visitors from
other *munds*. After 5 p.m. the buffaloes were brought back; they would
[234] be milked again by the *tarvalikartmokh* and then put away in the pen,
while Narjilkh would see to it that the calves were in for the night.
Kuddhue would churn the milk in the dairy-temple, and the buttermilk
and the butter would be brought out by his attendants to be handed over
to the women at the precise spot (marked with an upright stone) beyond
[264] which they are not allowed. The evening meal would be eaten and
everybody would go to bed early, practically immediately after sunset
(7 p.m.).

[123] When I worked only half a day with these people, I would usually
stay with them from 2 p.m. to 7 p.m. talking and watching what was
going on. This seemed to be the best time in which to get information
from the Todas.

3. THE POLYANDROUS UNIT

844 Approximately two weeks after I had arrived in the Nilgiris, on the 18th
845 May, 1949, Erzigwuf gave birth to twins for the second time. It was
about 8 p.m. when she felt unmistakable pains. She immediately got on
to the *kitten* of the room she lived in and assuming a kneeling position,
[606] called for Silidz, her mother-in-law, who came at once to assist her. A
first child, a boy, was born without difficulty, and, the pains continuing,
half an hour later, a little girl also made her appearance, who was taken
out, like the first baby, from behind by Silidz. The latter cut the cords
with a pair of scissors, tied the remaining stumps tightly with hair and
[278] smeared the wounds with an astringent root from the marshes which the
Todas call *poli*; she next went away from the *arsh* and buried the cords
and the afterbirth in a hole which she made in the ground. The new-born babies were washed in hot water and with soap (bought in the
bazaar), and laid to rest with their mother, who had by now moved back
to the *ertiilkh* where she was resting on her back. She did not start to
853 feed them before the next day.

845 When I saw her then, in the evening, she was sitting on the *kitten*,
naked to the waist, suckling one of the babies from her left breast. She

233 the Toda themselves, have separate ritual categories. Some herds are
771 kept in very sacred dairies and are handled by the most highly purified
[793] priests (*palol*). The milking of the sacred buffaloes and the preparation
[234] of the various milk products are also relegated to the special
[552] priests. All the buffaloes have human names.

The most important ritual institution is the "sacred dairy," which
234 is a temple (*palli*). Entrance or even approach to the temple is severely
778 restricted and in the highest "dairies" there is a division between the
especially sacred inner chamber where a sacred cowbell (*mani*) and
the various milk-churning utensils are kept and the outer chamber
which holds the utensils in which milk products are given to ordinary
people. The division between the sacred and the ordinary is so fundamental
that when the *palol* drinks water his right hand, used in churning,
may not come near his mouth: he pours the water from the right
to the left and drinks it from the left hand. The *palli* is in certain
778 respects the model for the ordinary dwelling, where again a division
342 between the sacred inner chamber and the ordinary women's quarters
is maintained. In the inner chamber, the men handle milk products;
[272] in the outer chamber the women prepare grain for food. Milk is so
[562] sacred, according to Rivers, that women are not allowed to cook with
it. The household, too, has a sacred bell like the "dairy"—so that,
just as the model human society is applied to the buffaloes, the
model of the sacred temples is carried over to ordinary dwellings.

621 In terms of social organization, Rivers observes that they have a
territorial organization into *mad* (hamlets), which he deliberately calls
"patrilineal clans." They are patrilineal only in the sense that the
851 child belongs to the *mad* of his *pater*. Paternity is fixed in the much-celebrated
bow-and-arrow ritual which takes place before the birth of
the child and, as Rivers observes, has important similarities to the
tali-tying ceremony of the matrilineal Nayar. The ceremony gives a
public answer to the question, "Whose bow shot the arrow?"

It is important to fix paternity, because sexual and marital relations
[83] are almost entirely free from restraints, and all kinds of polyandry,
[583] polygyny, wife exchange, and so on are permitted. Without the "public"
[595] statement of paternity, the *mad* position of the child could be
uncertain. On the other hand, Rivers also makes it quite clear that the
[611] Todas are not interested in retaining patrilineal genealogies as such.

611 The question of matrilineal descent is raised quite specifically by
114 Rivers both as it pertains to human beings and as it pertains to the
sacred buffalo. He rejects it in both cases, though it would have been
useful for his arguments to have found it with the Todas: "The Toda
show few traces of mother-right. . . . If the duties of the man towards
his sister's son among the Todas be a relic of mother-right, there can